উনিশ শতকে
বাংলাদেশের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র
[১৮৪৭-১৯০৫]

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ষষ্ঠ খণ্ড

মুনতাসীর মামুন

১৩/১ বঙ্কিম চাটুজ্যে স্ট্রিট। কলকাতা-৭৩

উৎসর্গ

আলী ইমাম
আমার পুরনো বন্ধুদের
মধ্যে একমাত্র
যে পুবনো পুথিপত্র ঘাটতে আগ্রহী

সূচিপত্র

ভূমিকা

উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদেশের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র কয়েক খন্ডে প্রকাশ করার দায়িত্ব নিয়েছিলো বাংলা একাডেমী। বর্তমান খন্ডটি ষষ্ঠ খন্ড। প্রথম খন্ড প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো ১৩৯১ সনে (১৯৮৫)। ঐ খন্ডে সামগ্রিকভাবে উনিশ শতকে প্রকাশিত বাংলাদেশের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র নিয়ে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। বাকী এবং বর্তমান খন্ডে সংকলিত হয়েছে ঐ সময়ে বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত যে সব সংবাদ সাময়িকপত্র পাওয়া গেছে তা থেকে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ রচনা ও সংবাদ। তাই প্রথম খন্ডটিকে বাকী খন্ডগুলির ভূমিকা হিসেবেও বিবেচনা করা যেতে পারে।

দ্বিতীয় খন্ড প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো ১৩৯৪ সনে (১৯৮৭)। এ খন্ডটি বিভক্ত দুটি পর্বে। প্রথম পর্বে সংকলন করা হয়েছে সংবাদপত্র সমূহ থেকে। তৎকালীন পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত অধিকাংশ সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র আর এখন পাওয়া যায় না। সুতরাং যা-ই খুঁজে পেয়েছি তা থেকেই সংকলন করেছি। দ্বিতীয় খন্ডে সাময়িকপত্র ছাড়া, 'গ্রামবার্ত্তা প্রকাশিকা' ও 'বঙ্গবন্ধু' থেকে সংবাদ/রচনা সংকলিত হয়েছে। 'রিপোর্ট অনদি নেটিভ পেপার্স' থেকেও সংকলন করা হয়েছে।

তৃতীয় এবং চতুর্থ খন্ডে সংকলন করা হয়েছে মাত্র একটি সংবাদপত্র থেকে এবং তা হলো 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'। এ পত্রিকাটিকে গুরুত্ব সহকারে নেওয়ার কারণ আছে। উনিশ শতকে পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত অধিকাংশ সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র আজ লুপ্ত। বিদেশে বিভিন্ন গ্রন্থাগারে কয়েকটি পত্রিকার অল্প কিছু সংখ্যা আছে। 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'ই একমাত্র পত্রিকা যার অধিকাংশ সংখ্যা অলৌকিকভাবে রক্ষা পেয়েছে। এ ছাড়া 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'-এর মতো আর কোন পত্রিকা এতে দীর্ঘকাল ধরে প্রকাশিত হয়নি। প্রায় একশো বছর টিকেছিলো পত্রিকাটি। শেষের দিকে অবশ্য 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ' প্রকাশিত হতো নিলামের ইস্তেহার হিসেবে। পত্রিকাটির পাতায় পাতায় ছড়িয়ে আছে বাংলাদেশের আর্থসামাজিক রাজনৈতিক বিষয়ের বিভিন্ন উপাদান। তৃতীয় ও চতুর্থ খন্ডে আমি মাত্র চল্লিশ বছরের 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ' থেকে অল্প কিছু সংবাদ রচনা সংকলন করেছি। তবে, পাঠকদের সুবিধার জন্য চতুর্থ খণ্ডে 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'-এ প্রকাশিত রচনার একটি সূচি সংযোজিত হয়েছে।

পঞ্চম খন্ডে সাপ্তাহিক 'হিন্দু রঞ্জিকা' [১৮৮৭, ১৮৮৮ ও ১৮৯৯-১৯০০] থেকে সংকলন করা হয়েছে। 'হিন্দুরঞ্জিকা'র আর কোন বছরের ফাইল খুঁজে পাওয়া যায়নি।

'উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদেশের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র'-এর পরিকল্পনা করা হয়েছিলো একটি কারণে। বর্তমান বাংলাদেশ বা তৎকালীন পূর্ববঙ্গের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র নিয়ে এখনও বিস্তারিত গবেষণা হয়নি। সামগ্রিকভাবে বাংলা সংবাদ সাময়িকপত্র নিয়ে কিছু গবেষণা হয়ছে কিন্তু তাতে কলকাতা বা পশ্চিমবঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্রই গুরুত্ব পেয়েছে। প্রধানত সে অভাব পূরণের জন্যই এ গ্রন্থের পরিকল্পনা করা হয়েছিলো। গ্রন্থের সময়সীমা ১৮৪৭ থেকে ১৯০৫। ১৮৪৭ সাল থেকে শুরু করার কারণ, ঐ সময়ই বাংলাদেশের প্রথম সংবাদপত্র 'রঙ্গপুর বার্ত্তাবহ' প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো। আর ১৯০৫ সালতো বঙ্গভঙ্গের কারণে বাংলার ইতিহাসে অধিকার করে আছে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ স্থান। যদিও এ গ্রন্থে ১৯০০ থেকে ১৯০৫ পর্যন্ত প্রকাশিত কয়েকটি সংবাদ সাময়িকপত্র নিয়ে আলোচনা করেছি তবুও গ্রন্থের শিরোনাম উনিশ শতকই ব্যবহার করা হলো। বর্তমান গ্রন্থে, পূর্ববঙ্গ বা বাংলাদেশ বলতে বর্তমান বাংলাদেশের ভৌগোলিক সীমানা বোঝানো হয়েছে।

বর্তমান খন্ডটিকে এ সিরিজে ব্যতিক্রম বলে মনে হতে পারে। কারণ, বর্তমান খন্ডে যে পত্রিকা থেকে সংকলন করা হয়েছে সেটি ইংরেজি সংবাদপত্র 'দি ঢাকা নিউজ'। ব্যাতিক্রম বলে মনে হতে পারে এ কারণে যে, গ্রন্থের ভূমিকা, টীকা সমস্ত কিছুই বাংলায় কিন্তু সংকলন ইংরেজিতে। তবে বলতে পারি, এটি এখন আর ব্যতিক্রম নয়, বিদেশে এ ধরনের গবেষণার ক্ষেত্রে দ্বি-ভাষিক সংকলনও প্রকাশিত হচ্ছে। কারণ ধরে নেওয়া হয় যারা এটি ব্যবহার করবেন তাদের জন্য মাতৃভাষাসহ ইংরেজি ভাষা দুরাতিগম্য বাধা হয়ে দাঁড়াবে না। তা'ছাড়া বর্তমান সংকলনের জন্য যদি ভূমিকা থেকে শুরু করে সবকিছু ইংরেজিতে করা হতো তা'হলে এটিকে সিরিজ বহির্ভূত বলে মনে হতো। এবং ধারাবাহিকতা বিনষ্ট হতো। তা'ছাড়া ঐ ইংরেজি খন্ডের জন্য প্রথম খন্ডটিকেও অনুবাদ করতে হতো না হলে, অনেক বক্তব্যই অস্পষ্ট থেকে যেতো। সে কারণে 'দি ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর ক্ষেত্রে আলাদা কোন পদ্ধতি ব্যবহার করা হয়নি এবং আশাকরি পাঠক বা গবেষকদের কোন অসুবিধা হবে না।

বর্তমান খন্ডে আলোচনার সুবিধার জন্য সংবাদ/নিবন্ধ সমূহকে ভাগ করা হয়েছে কয়েকটি ভাগে- ১৮৫৭, নীল, নীলকর ও নীলচাষ, সমাজ, শিক্ষা, প্রশাসন, মিশনারী ও নীলকর, অর্থনীতি, সংবাদপত্র, থিয়েটার এবং বিবিধ। ১৮৫৭ সালের পুরো পত্রিকার অধিকাংশ জুড়ে প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো বিদ্রোহ সম্পর্কিত খবরা-খবর। ঢাকা ও পূর্ববঙ্গে ১৮৫৭ সালটি কেমন ছিল তার প্রধান ও বৃহৎ আকর হচ্ছে একমাত্র 'ঢাকা নিউজ'। নীলকর, পত্রিকাটিতে সব সময় প্রাধান্য পেয়েছে। কারণ, নীলকরদের স্বার্থরক্ষার্থেই 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর আবির্ভাব। সমসাময়িক থিয়েটার সম্পর্কে আর কোন সংবাদ সাময়িকপত্রে খোঁজ পাওয়া যায় না। তবে, বলে রাখা ভালো, সংবাদপত্রে সংবাদকে কখনও চূড়ান্তভাবে একটি নির্দিষ্ট গন্ডীতে ফেলা যায় না। একই সংবাদ একই সঙ্গে

বিভিন্ন বিভাগে অর্ন্তভুক্ত করা যেতে পারে। প্রতিটি অধ্যায়ের শুরুতে একটি সংক্ষিপ্ত ভূমিকা দেয়া হয়েছে তৃতীয় বন্ধনীর মাঝে। সংক্ষিপ্ত ভূমিকার পর ঐ বিষয়ের ওপর সংকলন। এ ক্ষেত্রে কোন রকম পরিবর্তন করা হয়নি। সংবাদ/রচনার যেগুলির টীকা দেওয়ার প্রয়োজন মনে করেছি সেগুলির ক্ষেত্রে ধারবাহিকভাবে টীকা সমূহ দেওয়া হয়েছে।

বর্তমান খন্ডটি স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ করার জন্য অনেক ক্ষেত্রে পূর্ববর্তী খণ্ডসমূহে উল্লিখিত বক্তব্য [যেমন, কোন কোন সংকলন অধ্যায়ের ভূমিকা], টীকার পুনরাবৃত্তি করা হয়েছে।

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'ঢাকা নিউজ' শুধু ঢাকার প্রথম সংবাদপত্রই নয়, পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত প্রথম ইংরেজি সাপ্তাহিকও বটে। 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর সঙ্গে ঢাকার মুদ্রণ ইতিহাসও জড়িত। এখানে সে প্রসঙ্গে কিছুটা আলোকপাত করা বোধ হয় অপ্রাসঙ্গিক হবে না।

ঢাকায় প্রথম মুদ্রণ যন্ত্র এনেছিলেন ব্যাপটিষ্ট মিশনারীরা ১৮৪৭ সালে। প্রধানতঃ মিশনারীদের প্রচারপত্র ও রিপোর্ট ছাপার জন্য তা ব্যবহৃত হতো।[১] ১৮৫৬ সালে, আমরা ঢাকায় দ্বিতীয় মুদ্রণ যন্ত্রটির খোঁজ পাই যার নাম 'ঢাকা প্রেস'। এই প্রেস থেকেই মুদ্রিত হতো 'দি ঢাকা নিউজ'। এখন প্রশ্ন, এটি নতুন কোন যন্ত্র না ব্যাপষ্টিদের আমদানীকৃত যন্ত্রটিই করা হয়েছিলো হস্তান্তরিত ?

গ্রাহাম শ উল্লেখ করছেন, ঢাকা প্রেস নতুন কোন মুদ্রণ যন্ত্র ছিল না। এটি ছিল ব্যাপটিষ্টদের আমদানীকৃত ১৮৪৭ সালের মুদ্রণ যন্ত্র। 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর সম্পাদক আলেকজান্ডার ফর্বেস এর সঙ্গে ব্যাপটিষ্টদের সম্পর্ক ছিল ভালো। তিনি তাদের টাকা পয়সা দিয়ে সাহায্য করতেন। ব্যাপটিষ্টরা হয়ত তাঁকে মুদ্রণ যন্ত্রটি দিয়েছিলেন অথবা ফর্বেস সামান্য টাকার বিনিময়ে তা কিনে নিয়েছিলেন।[২]

শ'য়ের অনুমান ঠিক হতেও পারে তবে এ সম্পর্কে নির্দিষ্টভাবে কিছু বলা যায় না। আমরা বলতে পারি ফর্বেস 'ঢাকা প্রেস' প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছিলেন। 'দি ঢাকা নিউজ' প্রকাশের জন্য এবং প্রেস ও পত্রিকা- দুটোরই স্বত্বাধিকারী ছিলেন তিনি।

এক সময়ের বাংলার রাজধানী এবং উনিশ শতকের মধ্যেভাগে পূর্ববঙ্গের প্রধান শহর হওয়া সত্ত্বেও ঢাকা ছিল নেহাৎ ছোট একটি ধূলিওড়া মফস্বল শহর মাত্র। এ শহরে মুদ্রণ যন্ত্র চালু রাখার অধিকাঠামোগত ব্যবস্থাও ছিল না। পত্রিকাটি যখন প্রকাশিত হতে থাকে তখন মুখোমুখি হয়েছিলো অনেক প্রতিবন্ধকতার। 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর বিভিন্ন সংখ্যায় এর বেশ কিছু বিবরণ পাওয়া যাবে।

'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর একটি সংখ্যায় সম্পাদক লিখেছিলেন "পৃথিবীর একেবারে প্রত্যন্ত প্রান্তে না হোক, প্রত্যন্ত প্রান্তেতো বটেই, আমরা স্থাপন করেছিলাম একটি মুদ্রণ যন্ত্র। আমাদের কাছে তখন ছিল না কোন কম্পোজিটর বা প্রিন্টার। এদের সবাইকে তৈরি করতে হয়েছে আমাদের"।[৩] এখানে উল্লেখ্য যে, প্রথম তেরটি সংখ্যা পর্যন্ত

প্রিন্টারের নাম একজন বাঙ্গালির—শ্রীনাথ দত্ত। সম্পাদক ফর্বেস হয়ত তাঁকে হাতে কলমে কাজ শিখিয়েছিলেন। শ্রীনাথের পর প্রিন্টার— জে. ও মিনাস, খুব সম্ভব আর্মেনিয়ান। ফর্বেস লিখেছিলেন, প্রথম সংখ্যাটির কম্পোজ, প্রুফ, মুদ্রণ সব ক্ষেত্রেই তাঁকে হাত লাগাতে হয়েছিলো। তা'ছাড়া, কলকাতার মতো যেহেতু মুদ্রণ ব্যবস্থা গড়ে ওঠেনি তখনও, তাই প্রেসে ব্যবহৃত নিত্য প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিসপত্রও ছিল না ঢাকায়। ১৮৫৬ সালের 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর একটি সংখ্যায় দেখি সম্পাদক জানাচ্ছেন যে, টাইপের অভাবে একটি রিপোর্ট তিনি ছাপতে পারেন নি। পরের স্টিমারে কিছু টাইপ আসছে। আশা করা যাচ্ছে তখন আর অসুবিধা হবে না। আর একবার দেখা গেলো দু'টি গ্যালি হারিয়ে (বা চুরি হয়ে গেছে) গেছে এবং জানানো হচ্ছে যে, ঐ গ্যালি দু'টির সন্ধান কেউ দিতে পারলে তাকে পুরস্কৃত করা হবে। ভালো কাগজের অভাবও ছিল একটি প্রতিবন্ধকতা।[৪]

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'ঢাকা নিউজ' প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো আলেকজান্ডার ফর্বেসের সম্পাদনায়। তিনি ছিলেন স্কটল্যান্ডের অধিবাসী। নীলকর জে.পি. ওয়াইজের সহকারি হিসেবে ১৮৪৪ সালে এসেছিলেন ঢাকায়। খুব শীঘ্রই ইউরোপীয় ব্যবসায়ী সম্প্রদায়ে নিজের স্থান করে নিয়েছিলেন। চাকুরি শুরু করেছিলেন। দ্বারকানাথ ঠাকুরের 'রেসমের কুঠি'তে কাজ করেছিলেন। একসময় ঢাকার আলী মিয়ার জমিদারীর ম্যানেজারও ছিলেন। অধ্যক্ষ ছিলেন নীলকুঠিরও। ঢাকা ব্যাংক এবং ঢাকা কমিটিরও [মিউনিসিপাল কমিটি] সচিব ছিলেন। 'ঢাকা নিউজ' সম্পাদনা করেছিলেন তিনি দু'বছর এবং তারপর ঢাকা ত্যাগ করে চলে গিয়েছিলেন কলকাতা। সেখানে, ইংরেজি পত্রিকা 'হরকরা'র সম্পাদক ছিলেন কিছুদিন।[৫] 'সোম প্রকাশ' লিখেছিলো —

"ঢাকা নিউজ সম্পাদক হরকরার ভূতপূর্ব্ব সম্পাদক আলেকজান্ডার ফর্ব্বসের সংক্ষেপ জীবন বৃত্তান্ত লিখিয়াছেন। ফর্ব্বস, প্রধানতঃ দ্বারকানাথ ঠাকুরের রেসমের কুঠিতে, পরে আলী মিয়ার জমিদারীর অধ্যক্ষ হন তিনি এক কালে নীলকুঠির অধ্যক্ষ, ঢাকা ব্যাঙ্কের সেক্রেটারি ও ঢাকা নিউজের সম্পাদকের কার্য সম্পাদন করেন। ফর্ব্বস্ উপযুক্ত ব্যক্তি সন্দেহ নাই। কিন্তু তাঁহার স্বভাবটি ভাল নয়।"[৬]

'দি ঢাকা নিউস'-এর প্রথম সংখ্যা প্রকাশিত হয় ১৮৫৬ সালের ২৬ এপ্রিল। পত্রিকার সম্পাদকীয়তে উল্লেখ করা হয়েছিলো, এটি একটি 'মফস্বল জার্নালই' হতে চায়। অন্য কিছু নয়—"We shall occupy ourselves chiefly with the matters of our own little Pedlington, Dacca; and with matters relating to the inhabitants of the Mofussil, the zemindar, the ryot and the planter." ইউরোপ সম্পর্কেও খবরাদি থাকবে না। তবে দু'টি উদ্দেশ্যের ওপর গুরুত্ব আরোপ করা হয়েছিলো—

১..... ... We believe that the day of Indias progress has dawned, and that she is commencing to throw off the inaction in which she has so long remained. Looking to the waking. of the native mind. both Hindoo and Mohommedan. We believe that this progress is a moral and as well as phyical. It will be our aim to assist this movement as much as in our power."

নেটিভরা ইংরেজদের থেকে ভিন্ন নয় এবং অনুকূল পরিবেশে তারাও হয়ে উঠতে পারে "truthful, as generous and as brave as the Briton"এক কথায় 'ঢাকা নিউজ' 'নেটভ'দের জন্য প্রতিকূল পরিবেশ অনুকূলে আনায় সচেষ্ট থাকবে।

২. নীলকরদের সহায়তা করা। নীলকরদের যেভাবে চিত্রিত করা হচ্ছে 'ঢাকা নিউজ' তার সঙ্গে একমত নয়- "Another of our strange notion is, that Indigo Planters are not robbers, adulterers and oppressors; but very enterprising, hard working honest men - "

কার্যত কিন্তু ঢাকা নিউজ দ্বিতীয় উদ্দেশ্যে যতোটা গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছিলো অন্যগুলিতে ততোটা নয়। দ্বিতীয় উদ্দেশ্যটি সামনে রেখে তারা কোম্পানী প্রশাসন ও মিশনারিদের কঠোর সমালোচনা করেছিলো। সোমপ্রকাশ ঢাকা নিউজের সংবাদ পরিবেশন সম্পর্কে মন্তব্য করেছিলো—

"ঢাকা নিউস সম্পাদক বলেন, চা-করদিগের অত্যাচারের বিষয় লইয়া এ ক্ষেত্রে সংবাদপত্রে যে আন্দোলন হইতেছে সে সমুদায় মিথ্যা, চা-করেরা অত্যাচার করে না। নীলকরদিগকে নষ্ট করিয়া এতদ্দেশীয় সংবাদপত্রের সম্পাদক ও তাঁহাদিগকে সংবাদদাতা চা-করদিগের সর্ব্বস্বান্ত করিবার চেষ্টায় আছেন। আমাদিগের প্রার্থনা এই চা-করদিগের অত্যাচার বিত্তান্ত মিথ্যাই হউক। কিন্তু আমরা যে প্রমাণ পাইতেছি তাহাতে চা-করেরা নীলকরদিগের 'গাঁর ভাই'। তাহা বলিয়া বিলক্ষণ জানা হইয়াছে।"[৭]

এ কারণে 'ঢাকা নিউজ'কে 'প্ল্যান্টার্স জানলি' হিসেবেও উল্লেখ করা হতো। দেশিয়দের পত্রিকাটি নিম্নস্তরের বলে মনে করতো এবং এদের নানাভাবে গালাগাল করতেও তারা দ্বিধাবোধ করেনি।

'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' প্রকাশের পূর্বপর্যন্ত প্রায় এক যুগ 'ঢাকা নিউজ' ছিল পূর্ববঙ্গের প্রধান ও একমাত্র ইংরেজি সাপ্তাহিক। যে কারণে, প্রশাসন পত্রিকাটিকে গুরুত্ব দিতো। পত্রিকাটি নিজেই একবার মন্তব্য করেছিলো '"..The infancy of the Dacca News has been distinguished by the removal of two deputy magistrates from the district, which, like two dragons of Wantley, they were devastating.""[৯] 'সোম প্রকাশ' লিখেছিলো- "ঐ পত্রখানি থাকাতে অনেক কুক্রিয়াশীল ব্যক্তি দমনে ছিল। পত্র উঠিয়া গেলে তাহাদিগের প্রশ্রয় বৃদ্ধি পাইবে। "শুধু তাই নয়' একদা যাহার প্রভাবে ঢাকা প্রদেশ উজ্জ্বল হইয়া উঠিয়াছিল যাহার ভয়ে এ প্রদেশের দুর্জ্জন দল প্রশান্তভাব ধারণ করিয়াছিলেন"--[১০]

'ঢাকা নিউজ' প্রকাশিত হতো প্রতি শনিবার। প্রতি সংখ্যার দাম ছিল দুই আনা। এ মূল্য তৎকালীন অবস্থায় উচ্চ মূল্য বলেই ধরে নিতে হবে। পত্রিকার বার্ষিক, ষান্মাষিক ও ত্রৈমাসিক চাঁদার হার ছিল যথাক্রমে সাড়ে ছয় রূপী, তিন রূপী চার আনা ও এক রূপী বার আনা। কলকাতায় গ্রাহক চাঁদা পাঠাবার ঠিকানা ছিল মেসার্স থ্যাকার স্পিংক অ্যান্ড কোম্পানী ও বড় বাজারের "বাবুস" বা মহাজন কিষেণমঙ্গল, মানিকচাঁদ এবং বসাক। বিজ্ঞাপনের হার ছিল লাইন প্রতি দু'আনা এবং এক টাকার নীচে কোন বিজ্ঞাপন গ্রহণ করা হতো না।

'ঢাকা নিউজ' প্রথমে ছিল এক পাতা, ১৩ নম্বর সংখ্যা থেকে পত্রিকার কলেবর বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছিলো চার পৃষ্ঠায় এবং সঙ্গে থাকতো 'সাপ্লিমেন্ট' যেখানে চলতি বাজারদরই ছিল মূখ্য বিষয়। দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড থেকে পত্রিকার পৃষ্ঠা সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছিলো আট পৃষ্ঠায়।

'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর প্রথম পৃষ্ঠায় থাকতো বিজ্ঞাপন (সংখ্যা অবশ্য ছিল খুবই কম)। শেষের দিকে 'কর্মাশিয়াল' শিরোনামে থাকতো নীল ও কুসুমফুলের চলতি বাজারদর। পত্রিকাটির প্রচার সংখ্যা কখন কতো ছিলা তা জানা যায়নি। তবে, ১৮৬৩ সালের এক রিপোর্টে জানা যায় তখন 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর প্রচার সংখ্যা ছিল তিনশো কপি।[১১]

'ঢাকা নিউজ' প্রথম হস্তান্তরিত হয় ১৮৫৮ সালে। ঐ সময় ফর্বেস ঢাকা ত্যাগ করেন। এর একটি কারণ কলকাতার 'হরকরা' পত্রিকার সম্পাদক হিসেবে আমন্ত্রণ। অন্য কারণ [অনুমান করছি] ঢাকার এলিট ও ব্যবসায়ী মহলের সঙ্গে তাঁর বিবাদ যার বেশ খানিকটা আভাস পাওয়া যাবে ঢাকা ব্যাংক সংক্রান্ত বিবাদে [দ্রষ্টব্য ঃ অর্থনীতি সংক্রান্ত সংকলন]। এই বিবাদের কারণে, তাঁকে ঢাকা ব্যাংকের সচিবেব পদ থেকে সরিয়ে দেওয়া হয় যা হয়ত তিনি মেনে নিতে পারেন নি।

ঢাকা ত্যাগ করার আগে তিনি পত্রিকাটি গুটিয়ে ফেলতে চেয়েছিলেন। অথচ, তখন পত্রিকার সার্কুলেশন বাড়ছিলো। এক ধরনের স্থিতি ও খ্যাতিও লাভ করেছিলো। কিন্তু, ফর্বেস সেগুলির দিকে দৃষ্টিপাত করেন নি। আসলে 'ঢাকা নিউজ'- এর প্রতি তিনি কখনও পূর্ণ মনোযোগ দেননি। ফর্বেস নিজেই উল্লেখ করেছেন, পত্রিকা প্রকাশ-কে তিনি খণ্ডকালীন কাজ হিসেবে নিয়েছিলেন। বা অন্যকথায় বলা যায় মফস্বলে সময় কাটাবার মাধ্যম হিসেবে পত্রিকা প্রকাশকে বিবেচনা করেছিলেন। এর মাধ্যমে যদি প্রভাব বলয় সৃষ্টি করা যায় তাহলে বাড়তি লাভ। ১৮৫৮ সালে ফর্বেস জানিয়েছেন, পত্রিকাটি লাভজনক হতো। কিন্তু, তখন তা লোকসান দিয়েছিলো বছরে দুই হাজার রূপী—

We issued the paper without puff or flourish. We spent no money on advertising. It was issued at a cost that hardly paid for ink and paper. We had other and onerous duties to perform during the day. Only our few spare hours of morning and evening, and late at night, could be given to it ---- It has increased wonderfully in circulation, and never so fast as latterly. If we had started from our

present print. the paper would have been a good commercial speculation ...To ourselves, however, it has proved a loss of upwards of two thousand rupees, learing out of our calculations interest of money and the value of our own labor. "

'সোম প্রকাশ' মন্তব্য করেছিলো—"ঢাকা নিউস সম্পাদক প্রকাশ করিয়াছেন যে ঐ পত্রিকা বিক্রীত হইবে। বর্ত্তমান অধিকারীরা তাহা এককালে উঠাইয়া না দিয়া হস্তান্তর করিবার সংকল্প করিয়াছেন। উহা উঠিয়া না গিয়া যদি কেহ গ্রহণ করিয়া উহার কার্য্য সম্পাদন করেন, বড় ভাল হয়।"[১৩]

এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে, সত্যেন সেনের অনুমান, ঢাকার কয়েকজন আর্মেনী ও ইংরেজ 'ঢাকা নিউজ' কিনে নেন ।[১৪] এ অনুমান সঠিক হতে পারে। কারণ, ১৮৬৫ সালের সরকারি বিবরণী থেকে জানা যায়, 'ঢাকা প্রেস'-এর স্বত্বাধিকারী ছিলেন পাঁচজন। এরা হলেন—এ. এম. ক্যামারন, এন. পি. পগোজ, জে. এ. গ্রেগ, জে. পি ওয়াইজ এবং কে. এ. গনি বা খাজা আবদুল গনি।[১৫] আর্মেনী পগোজ, ইংরেজ ওয়াইজ এবং অবাঙালি গনি ছিলেন পূর্ববঙ্গের প্রভাবশালী জমিদার, 'ওয়াইজতো ছিলেন নামকরা একজন নীলকরও'। বাকি দু'জনও ছিলেন বিত্তশালী। প্রেস ব্যবসা করা তাদের উদ্দেশ্য ছিল না। কারণ, তাঁরা প্রত্যেকেই ছিলেন অতি অবস্থাসম্পন্ন। অবশ্য, তার অর্থ এই নয় যে, এই প্রেসে ব্যবসায়িক কাজকর্ম একেবারেই হতো না।

'ঢাকা নিউজ' কিনে নেবার ব্যাপারে হয়ত গনি, ওয়াইজ অগ্রণী ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন। কারণ, তাঁরা ফর্বেসকে পছন্দ করতেন না। আরো পরে দেখি, কলকাতার নীলকর সমিতিতে যে দ্বন্দ্ব শুরু হয়েছিলো তার একপক্ষে ছিলেন ওয়াইজ, অন্যপক্ষে ফর্বেস, তাছাড়া ফরায়েজি আন্দোলন, ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ, নীল আন্দোলন- এসব কারণে নিজেদের স্বার্থ সংরক্ষণ ও সরকার এবং এলিট মহলে নিজ স্বার্থ তুলে ধরার জন্যই তারা পত্রিকাটি প্রকাশ অব্যাহত রাখতে চাইছিলেন।

মিঃ কেম্প নামে আরেকজন 'নেটিভ' বিদ্বেষীকে 'ঢাকা নিউজ' সম্পাদনের ভার দেওয়া হয়েছিলো। কিন্তু গনি মিয়া ও তাঁর সহযোগীরা দশ বছরের মতো পত্রিকাটি চালিয়ে ছিলেন। এরপর খুব সম্ভব ১৮৬৯ সালে কেম্প পত্রিকাটি কিনে নেন এবং সম্পূর্ণ খোলে-নলচে পালটে নতুনভাবে পত্রিকা প্রকাশ শুরু করেন। নতুন পত্রিকাটির নাম 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' যা প্রকাশিত হতো সপ্তাহে দু' দিন। ১৯০৫ সালে আবার 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস'-এরও হাতবদল হয় এবং নামও বদলে যায়।

৪

সংবাদপত্রের নিরপেক্ষ নীতি বলে কিছু নেই। সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র সবসময় জনগণের একটি অংশের মত প্রকাশ করে মাত্র। উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদশ থেকে প্রকাশিত সংবাদপত্রগুলিও এর ব্যতিক্রম নয়। প্রায় প্রতিটি সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র সমর্থন করতো একটি বিশেষ গোষ্ঠী বা দল বা সম্প্রদায়কে। যিনি এর কোনটির সঙ্গে জড়িত

ছিলেন না, তিনি তাঁর আপন রুচি, ইচ্ছার প্রতিফলন ঘটাতেন সংবাদ সাময়িক পত্রে। কিন্তু, তাঁর সঙ্গেও সম্পর্ক থাকতো প্রত্যক্ষ অথবা পরোক্ষভাবে কোন আদর্শের। যেমন, 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ' ছিল প্রথমে প্রত্যক্ষ এবং পরে গোড়া হিন্দুদের মুখপত্র। 'ঢাকা নিউজ' ছিল নীলকরদের, 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' ইংরেজদের। তাই বর্তমান খণ্ডের সংকলিত রচনা সংবাদগুলিকে ঐ দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে বিচার করে উপাদান হিসেবে ব্যবহার করতে হবে।

উনিশ শতকের সংবাদপত্রগুলি ছিল প্রধানত রচনা ভিত্তিক। সংবাদ ছাড়া প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই যে কোন একটি সংবাদ বা বিষয়কে নিয়ে ছাপা হতো বিস্তারিত আলোচনা বা মতামত। খবরের মধ্যে থাকতো স্থানীয় কিছু খবর আর থাকতো বিদেশী বা উপমহাদেশের বিভন্ন অঞ্চল থেকে প্রকাশিত সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র থেকে সংগৃহীত খবর। অনেক সময় ছাপা হতো মফস্বল থেকে পত্রিকার ভক্ত প্রেরিত সংবাদ। ছিল চিঠি পত্রের কলামও। তবে, বিষয় ভিত্তিক রচনা বা কোন ঘটনাকে কেন্দ্র করেই সম্পদকরা তুলে ধরতেন মতামত। 'ঢাকা নিউজ' ও এর ব্যাতিক্রম ছিল না।

প্রায় প্রতিটি ক্ষেত্রেই নিজস্ব মতামত থাকতো সম্পাদকদের। তবে, তাঁদের প্রধান সম্পাদকীয় বিষয় ছিল জমিদার, রায়ত এবং সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্পর্ক। সমাজ সংস্কার, প্রশাসন/ শাসন নিয়েও মন্তব্য করা হতো অহরহ। তবে, সম্প্রদায় বা দল বা গোষ্ঠীগত কারণে বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে বিভিন্ন রকম গুরুত্ব আরোপ করা হতো। এসব বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত আলোচনা করেছি প্রথম খণ্ডে, তাই এখানে আর তা পুনরুল্লেখ করলাম না।

৫

১৯৭৯-৮০ সালে লন্ডনের ইন্ডিয়া অফিস লাইব্রেরিতে কাজ করার সময় আমি 'দি ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর ১৩৪টি সংখ্যা খুঁজে পাই যার সময় কাল ২৪.৪.১৮৫৬ (১ম সংখ্যা) থেকে ১৩.১১.১৮৫৮ (১৩৪ সংখ্যা)। ইন্ডিয়া অফিস ছাড়া 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর কোন সংখ্যা আর কোথাও আছে বলে আমার জানা নেই। বর্তমান সংকলনের ভিত্তি ঐ ১৩৪টি সংখ্যা।

কোন গ্রন্থই নিখুঁত নয়, বর্তমান গ্রন্থতো নয়। এ গ্রন্থমালা প্রস্তুত ও প্রকাশে আমার সময় লেগেছে প্রায় সতের বছর। ফলে, অনেক ক্ষেত্রে খেই হারিয়ে ফেলেছি। যেমন, 'ঢাকা নিউজ' থেকে কপি করা অনেক সংবাদ/রচনার কপি হারিয়ে গেছে। সেগুলি উদ্ধার করতে হলে আমাকে আবার লন্ডন যেতে হবে যা সম্ভব নয়। এবং এ ধরনের গবেষণা কাজে সহায়তা করার মতো অধিকাঠামোগত সহজ কোন ব্যবস্থাও নেই। তাছাড়া আমার আরো মনে হয়েছে, আজ যদি আমি ঐ পত্রিকা থেকে সংকলন করতাম তা' হলে তা ষোল বছর আগে করা সংকলন থেকে আরো সংহত ও সমৃদ্ধ হতো।

গত প্রায় দু'দশক বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত গত শতকের পত্র-পত্রিকার খোঁজ

করে বেরিয়েছি। উনিশ শতকের বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত অধিকাংশ পত্র-পত্রিকাই এখন দুষ্প্রাপ্য। কোন পাঠক/ গবেষক যদি উনিশ শতকের পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত কোন সংবাদ সাময়িকপত্রের খোঁজ দিতে পারেন তা'হলে উপকৃত হবো।

প্রথম খণ্ডে, উনিশ শতকের বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্রের যে তালিকা ও সংখ্যা দেওয়া হয়েছে বলাই বাহুল্য তা সম্পূর্ণ নয়। আরো অনেক পত্র-পত্রিকা হয়ত তখন বেরিয়েছিলো যা এখন হারিয়ে গেছে বা আমার চোখে পড়েনি। ভবিষ্যতে কোন গবেষক হয়ত সুষ্ঠুভাবে এ কাজ সম্পন্ন করবেন। সে আশায়ই রইলাম।

ইতিহাস বিভাগ
ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়
১৯৯৫

মুনতাসীর মামুন

তথ্যপঞ্জি

১. মুনতাসীর মামুন, ঢাকার আদি মুদ্রণের ইতিহাস, *ঢাকার সংস্কৃতিক ইতিহাসের উপাদন*, ঢাকা ১৯৯১।

২. G. W. Shaw, 'Printing and Publishing in Dahka, 1849-1900'. Sharifuddin Ahmed (ed), *Dhaka ; Past, Present, Future*, Dhaka, 1991.

৩. "In an out-of the-way, if not the most out of the wayest corner of the world we established. a press, we had not a single compositor or printer, we had to educate them all. we set up in type, a great part of our first number with our own hands, we have been, down to the present day, our own chief corrector of proofs." *Dacca News*, 23.10.1858 .

৪. No improvement has taken place in the very primitive process. by which excessively bad paper, lasting with greatest care for about three years. has been made. In this department of Jail manufacture, no machinery has been introduced. All is set done by hand and the quantity produced greatly insufficient to the demand. *Ibid*,.

৫. *Ibid* .

৬. সোমপ্রকাশ ৩০.১২.১৮৬১। উদ্ধৃত, আবদুল কাইউম, 'সাময়িক পত্রে সেকালের ঢাকা' *বাংলা একাডেমী পত্রিকা*, বৈশাখ-আষাঢ়, ১৩৭৭।

৭. *ঐ।*

৮. *ঐ।*

৯. *The Dacca News* , 22.11.1856.

১০. আবদুল কাইউম , *পূর্বোক্ত।*

১১. *Proceedings of the Government of Bengal in the General Depatment*, January, 1865. 4-5 .

১২. *Dacca News* 23.10.1858 - "..if we had not taken to printing, we, should have certainly become a photographer; and the many would have gone in that way; besides which our evenings would not have been occupied, and we should have gone out to dinner, and had head-aches in the morning, and have otherwise ruined our health."

১৩. সোমপ্রকাশ ৩০.১২.১৮১১ উদ্ধৃত, *প্রাগুক্ত।*

১৪. সত্যেন সেন, 'ঢাকা হইতে উনবিংশ শতাব্দীতে প্রকাশিত সাময়িক পত্র'; '*সোনার বাংলা*, ২০ ভাদ্র, ১৩৫৪।

১৫. *Proceeding of the Government of Bengal in the General Department January.* 1865.
এ প্রসঙ্গে উল্লেখ্য এ সিরিজের প্রথম খন্ডে ঢাকা নিউজ, সম্পর্কিত যে ইতিহাস বর্ণনা করেছি বর্তমান তথ্যের আলোকে তা সংশোধন করা হবে।

১৮৫৭ সালে বিদ্রোহ

বিদ্রোহ এবং বিপ্লবে পার্থক্য আছে। বিপ্লবের অর্থ শুধু শাসকের পরিবর্তনই নয়, সরকার ব্যবস্থা, সমাজ, অর্থনীতি সর্বক্ষেত্রে সামগ্রিক পরিবর্তনই বিপ্লব।[১] অন্যদিকে, কোন সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে বিদ্রোহের মানে এ নয় যে সামগ্রিক সমাজ ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তন। বিদ্রোহ শুধুমাত্র শাসক পরিবর্তনের জন্যেও হতে পারে। এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে, ১৮৫৭ সালে, ভারতীয় সিপাহীরা, ইংরেজ শাসনের বিরুদ্ধে যে বিদ্রোহ করেছিলো তাকে আমি ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ হিসেবে আখ্যায়িত করবো।

১৮৫৭ সালের ২৯ মার্চ, কলকাতার কাছে ব্যারাকপুরে মঙ্গলপাণ্ডে নামে এক ভারতীয় সৈনিক কর্তৃক জনৈক ইংরেজ অফিসারকে হত্যা প্রচেষ্টার মাধ্যমে ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহের সূত্রপাত। কিন্তু প্রবল ও ব্যাপক আকারে প্রথম তা ছড়িয়ে পড়েছিলো মিরাটে ১০ মে, এবং এরপর ভারতবর্ষের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে, বিশেষ করে উত্তর ভারতে। পূর্ববঙ্গ বিদ্রোহের মূল কেন্দ্র থেকে এক প্রান্তে অবস্থিত হলেও এর রেশ পৌঁছেছিল এখানে। ১৮৫৭ সালের ১৪ সেপ্টেম্বর দিল্লীর পতন ও সম্রাট বাহাদুর শাহর গ্রেফতারের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে বিদ্রোহের মোটামুটি সমাপ্তি হয়েছিলো, যদিও বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে, আঞ্চলিক নেতারা তখনও যুদ্ধ করে চলছিলেন। ১৮৫৭ সালের ৮ জুলাই লর্ড ক্যানিং আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে বিদ্রোহের সমাপ্তি ও শান্তির সূচনার কথা ঘোষণা করেছিলেন এবং ঐ বছরই ব্রিটিশ সরকার আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে ইস্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর কাছ থেকে ভারতের শাসনভার গ্রহণ করেছিলেন।

১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহের প্রকৃতি নিয়ে যথেষ্ট মতভেদ আছে তবে বিদ্রোহের কারণগুলি সম্পর্কে ঐতিহাসিকরা মোটামুটিভাবে একমত পোষণ করেন। তাৎক্ষণিকভাবে, সামরিক বাহিনীতে বিদ্রোহ শুরু হলেও পরে তা আর সামরিক বাহিনীতে সীমাবদ্ধ থাকেনি। আর্থ-সামজিক কারণগুলি তখন বড় হয়ে উঠেছিলো সুতরাং ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহকে 'বিদ্রোহ' হিসেবে আখ্যায়িত করলেও এর ভেতরের সামাজিক আন্দোলনের উপাদানগুলি তুচ্ছ করার মতে নয়।

১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ নিয়ে বিভিন্ন সব মতামত প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। সব মতামতকে এখানে কয়েকভাগে ভাগ করে সংক্ষিপ্ত আলোচনা করবো—

ক. উনিশ শতকে ইংরেজ ঐতিহাসিক যেমন, কে (এ হিস্ট্রি অব দি সিপয় ওয়ার ইন ইণ্ডিয়া, ১৮৬৪), ম্যালেসন (হিস্ট্রি অব দি ইণ্ডিয়ান মিউটিনি, ১৮৭৮ দ্বিতীয়

সংস্করণ) রাইস হোম্‌স (এ হিষ্ট্রি অব দি ইন্ডিয়ান মিউটিনি ১৮৮৩) প্রমুখ ১৮৫৭ এর বিদ্রোহ সম্পর্কে বক্তব্য রাখতে গিয়ে এ তত্ত্বই অস্বীকার করতে চেয়েছিলেন যে, বৃটিশ কুশাসনই এ বিদ্রোহের কারণ। সুতরাং স্বাভাবিকভাবেই তারা যুদ্ধের সামরিক প্রকৃতির ওপর গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছিলেন বেশী।[১]

খ. জাতীয়তাবাদের উন্মেষের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ভারতীয় ঐতিহাসিকরা বিদ্রোহকে চিহ্নিত করেছিলেন ভারতের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ হিসেবে। ১৮৫৭-এর বিদ্রোহী নেতারা পরিণত হয়েছিলেন জাতীয়বীরে। বিদ্রোহের প্রধান কারণ হিসেবে তাঁরা নির্ধারণ করলেন, বিদেশী শক্তির নিপীড়নকে। এ মতবাদ প্রথম উপস্থাপিত করেছিলেন সাভারকার ১৯০৯ সালে তাঁর 'দি ইণ্ডিয়ান ওয়ার অব ইণ্ডিপেণ্ডেন্স' নামক গ্রন্থে।[২] রাজনীতিবিদ, যেমন, আবুল কালাম আজাদ, অশোক মেহতা বা ভূপতি মজুমদার প্রমুখরাও উপরোক্ত মতবাদ সমর্থন করেছেন।[৩]

১৯৫৭ সালে বিদ্রোহের শতবার্ষিকী উপলক্ষে ভারতে বেশ কিছু পুস্তক-পুস্তিকা প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো। এর মধ্যে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ সেন, রমেশচন্দ্র মজুমদার এবং পি, সি, যোশীর (সম্পাদিত) গ্রন্থ তিনটি উল্লেখযোগ্য।[৪] ঐ গ্রন্থ তিনটিতে আমরা আবার তিন ধরনের মত পাই।

গ. ভারত সরকারের অনুরোধে সেন তাঁর গ্রন্থটি রচনা করেছিলেন। তাঁর মতে, বিরাট জাতীয় অভ্যুত্থান হিসেবে এ বিদ্রোহকে চিহ্নিত করা যায় না। তবে তিনি এটাও স্বীকার করেছেন যে, প্রাথমিকভাবে সামরিক বিদ্রোহ হিসেবে শুরু হলেও অন্তিমে তা আর সামরিক বাহিনীতেই সীমাবদ্ধ থাকেনি।[৫]

ঘ. রমেশচন্দ্র মজুমদারের অবস্থান একেবারে বিপরীত মেরুতে। তাঁর মতে, এটি স্বাধীনতার জন্যে জাতীয় যুদ্ধ ছিল না। বিদ্রোহের নেতাদের পূর্ব পরিকল্পিত কোন পরিকল্পনাও ছিল না। এবং তখন ছিল না কোনরকম সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্প্রীতি।[৬] শশীভূষণ চৌধুরী তাঁর দু'টি গ্রন্থেই এ মতবাদ খণ্ডন করে বলেছেন, ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহে সামরিক ও বেসামরিক ঐক্য স্থাপিত হয়েছিলো এবং জনগণ সচেতনভাবে তা সমর্থন করেছিলেন।[৭]

ঙ. মার্কসবাদী ঐতিহাসিকদের মত, জাতীয়তাবাদীদের মতামতের কাছাকাছি। কার্ল মার্কস প্রথম এই অভ্যুত্থানকে ভারতের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম বলে আখ্যায়িত করেছিলেন। তবে মার্কসবাদীদের মতে, এটি ছিল কৃষকদের জাতীয় অভ্যুত্থান।[৮] এবং সাম্রাজ্যবাদী শাসক ও ঐতিহাসিকদের সুপরিকল্পিত প্রচারের ফলে, 'সিপাহী বিদ্রোহী' নামেই ভারতীয় মহাবিদ্রোহ আমাদের কাছে পরিচিতি।[৯]

মার্কসবাদী ঐতিহাসিক ব্যতীত, বাকী সবার মতামতের সারসংক্ষেপ করেছেন মেটকাফ এ ভাবে "-It was something more than a Sepoy mutiny, but something less than a national revolt. "[10]

বিদ্রোহের প্রকৃতি সম্পর্কে সেন এবং মজুমদার, মোটামুটি একই কথা বলেছেন। তাঁদের মতে, বিদ্রোহ সফল হলে, ইংরেজ আমলে সর্বক্ষেত্রে যেমন উন্নতি হচ্ছিলো তা বন্ধ হয়ে যেতো। এক কথায়, এর চরিত্র ছিল সামন্ততান্ত্রিক। সুশোভন সরকার এ মত খণ্ডন করে দেখিয়েছেন, সেন ও মজুমদারদের বক্তব্যে পরস্পর বিরোধিতা আছে। একদিকে তাঁরা যেমন বলছেন বিদ্রোহের চরিত্র ছিল সামন্ততান্ত্রিক অপর দিকে বলছেন, এ বিদ্রোহ ছিল অসংগঠিত ও স্বতস্ফূর্ত। সুতরাং তাঁদের বক্তব্য তাঁরাই নস্যাৎ করে দিয়েছেন। এ ছাড়া, প্রমাণিত হয়েছে, অধিকাংশ জমিদার বা রাজ রাজড়ারা ছিলেন ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের পক্ষে।[১১]

উপরোল্লিখিত মতামত বিশ্লেষণ করে বলতে পারি যে, সর্বভারতীয় পরিসরে বিচার করলে ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ ছিল প্রথম জাতীয় অভ্যূত্থান। এটিই ছিল ইংরেজদের বিরুদ্ধে প্রথম বিদ্রোহ যা আঞ্চলিক সীমা ছাড়িয়ে গিয়েছিলো। এর জন্যে নিঃসন্দেহে দায়ী ছিল ইংরেজদের লুণ্ঠন, অত্যাচার, শোষণ।

বলা যেতে পারে, ভারতীয় সিপাহীদের নির্দিষ্ট কিছু কারণ ছিল, কিন্তু, গোপালের ভাষায়, প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই ছিল সে সিপাহীর পোষাক পরা একজন কৃষক। যে গ্রাম থেকে সে এসেছিলো, নিশ্চয় সে গ্রামের অবস্থা তার ওপর সৃষ্টি করেছিলো প্রতিক্রিয়ার।[১২] বিদ্রোহের মাধ্যমে সাধারণ মানুষ, কৃষকের স্বার্থ ও ক্রোধ উৎসারিত হয়েছিলো।

তবে, সমগ্র ভারতে বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে সমাজ গঠনে বিভিন্নতার দরুন, বিদ্রোহের পরিসর, আয়তন, কেন্দ্রবিন্দু হয়েছিলো বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে বিভিন্ন রকম। এবং তাই আমরা দেখি, পরবর্তী পর্যায়ে সামগ্রিকভাবে ভারতে বৃটিশ শাসন প্রতিষ্ঠিত হলে, এ বিদ্রোহের প্রভাব বিভন্ন অঞ্চলে বিভিন্ন ভাবে প্রতিফলিত হয়েছিলো। যেমন, পূর্ববঙ্গ ছিল বিদ্রোহের কেন্দ্র থেকে অনেক দূরে, এবং এখানকার মানুষ এ বিদ্রোহে তেমনভাবে সাড়া দেয়নি। কিন্ত পরে, কৃষক বিদ্রোহের সময় লক্ষ্য করা যায়, এ বিদ্রোহ কৃষকদের মনে প্রভাব বিস্তার করেছিলো।

তৎকালীন পূর্ববঙ্গে ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ কিভাবে হয়েছিলো এবং কি প্রতিক্রিয়া সৃষ্টি করেছিলো তার বিস্তারিত বিবরণ পাওয়া যাবে অধ্যাপক রতন লাল চক্রবর্ত্তীর 'সিপাহী যুদ্ধ ও বাংলাদেশ' গ্রন্থে। এখানে তাই, পূর্ববঙ্গে বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলের বিদ্রোহের বিস্তরিত বিবরণ দেওয়া থেকে বিরত থাকলাম। 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এ স্বাভাবিকভাবেই ঢাকার ঘটনাবলী গুরুত্ব পেয়েছে। অন্যান্য কয়েকটি অঞ্চল যেমন, চট্টগ্রাম, ময়মনসিংহ, সিলেট, নোয়াখালি ও বরিশালের কিছু প্রতিক্রিয়াও পাওয়া যাবে পত্রিকায়। এখানে প্রধানত 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এ বর্ণিত অঞ্চল সমূহে ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ কি প্রতিক্রিয়ার সৃষ্টি করেছিলো তার সংক্ষিপ্ত বিবরণ দেব।

পূর্ববঙ্গে একমাত্র চট্টগ্রামে সিপাহীরা প্রকাশ্যে বিদ্রোহ করেছিলো। উত্তর-পশ্চিমাঞ্চলে যখন বিদ্রোহ শুরু হয়েছিলো তখন চট্টগ্রামে মোতায়েন ছিল ৩৪ নেটিভ

ইনফেনট্রির তিনটি কোম্পানী। এর বাকী সাতটি কোম্পানীকে আগেই নিরস্ত্র করা হয়েছিলো ব্যারাকপুরে।[১৩] তবে চট্টগ্রামের অবস্থা ছিল 'ভয় ভীতিপূর্ণ'।[১৪]

১৮ নভেম্বর পর্যন্ত চট্টগ্রামের সিপাহীরা ছিল শান্ত। কিন্তু ঐ দিন রাতে হঠাৎ তারা বিদ্রোহ করে ট্রেজারি লুট করেছিলো, জেল ভেঙ্গে বন্দীদের দিয়েছিলো মুক্তি, এবং তার পর সরকারী তিনটি হাতি নিয়ে ত্যাগ করেছিলো চট্টগ্রাম। সাধারণ মানুষের তারা কোন ক্ষতি করেনি।[১৫] কমিশনার খবর পেয়ে শহরের প্রতিরক্ষা ব্যবস্থা জোরদার করেছিলেন। মহিলা ও শিশুদের পাঠিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছিলো বন্দরে। ইংরেজরা গড়ে তুলেছিলো একটি স্বেচ্ছাসেবক বাহিনী এবং নিজেদের রক্ষার জন্যে সাময়িকভাবে নির্মাণ করেছিলো একটি দুর্গ প্রাচীর।

১৩ ডিসেম্বর বিদ্রোহীরা পৌঁছেছিলো সিলেট জেলার দক্ষিণাংশে। জেলার উপকণ্ঠে সরকার অনুগত বাহিনীর সঙ্গে এক যুদ্ধে ২৬ জনকে মৃত ফেলে রেখে সিপাহীরা পালিয়ে গিয়েছিলো জঙ্গলে। ইংরেজ পক্ষে নিহত হয়েছিলো পাঁচজন, আহত হয়েছিলো একজন।[১৬]

১৮৫৭ সালের মার্চ মাস থেকেই ঢাকার সাধারণ মানুষ আশংকা করছিলো বিদ্রোহের। ঢাকায় সিপাহীদের সংখ্যা ছিল প্রায় দু'শো এবং নেতৃত্বহীন দুশো লোক পুরো শহরবাসীর বিরুদ্ধে কি করতে পারে- এ ধরনের প্রশ্ন তুলে অনেকেই বলেছিলেন, শহরের বাসিন্দা এবং সিপাহীরা দু পক্ষই পরস্পরকে ভয় করছে। কারণ সিপাহীদের সঙ্গে শহরবাসীর সম্পর্ক ভাল নয়।[১৭] অন্য আরেকটি ভাষ্যে জানা যায়, দেশী সিপাহীরা থাকতো তখন লালবাগে এবং পরিচিত ছিল তার কালা সিপাহী নামে। ইংরেজ সৈন্যদের বলা হতো গোরা সিপাহী। কালা সিপাহীরা ছিল শক্ত সমর্থ, অমায়িক এবং এ জন্যে শহরের মুসলমানদের মধ্যে ছিল তারা খুব জনপ্রিয়। [১৮]

মে মাসে মীরাটের বিদ্রোহের সংবাদ এসে পৌঁছেছিলো ঢাকায়। মিশনারীদের ঐ সময় বাজারে ধর্ম প্রচারে সিপাহীদের কিছুটা প্রতিরোধের সম্মুখীন হতে হয়েছিলো।[১৯] বাংলাবাজার 'ফিমেল স্কুল'ও এ সময় প্রায় ছাত্রী শূন্য হয়ে গিয়েছিলো কারণ গুজব রটেছিলো সিপাহীরা স্ত্রী শিক্ষা পছন্দ করে না। ২০ মে মাসের শেষে এবং জুন মাসের শুরুতে ৭৩ এর দু'টি কোম্পানী জলপাইগুড়ি থেকে ঢাকা এসে পৌঁছেছিলো বদলি হিসেবে। ১০ জুন ইউরোপীয়ান বাহিনী আসতে পারে শুনে সিপাহীরা হয়ে উঠেছিলো বেশ উত্তেজিত।[২১] বোঝা যাচ্ছে উভয় পক্ষই চরম দিনটির জন্য অপেক্ষা করছিলো।

জুন মাসে, শহরের ইউরোপীয় বাসিন্দারা একটি 'কমিটি অব সেফটি' গঠন করে কাগজে বিজ্ঞপ্তি দিয়ে জানিয়েছিলো, শহরবাসী ভদ্রলোক [অর্থাৎ ইংরেজরা] যেন কোন গুজবে কান না দেন এবং কোন গুজব শুনলে তা যেন ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট বা কমিটির সদস্যদের জানান। তাঁরা তখন এর সত্যতা যাচাই করবেন। বিজ্ঞপ্তিতে, বিশেষ নিরাপত্তা ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের জন্যে ঢাকার খৃষ্টান অর্থাৎ ইউরোপীয়দের প্রতি আহবান জানানো হয়েছিলো

এবং বলা হয়েছিলো বিপদে যেন তারা পরস্পরকে রক্ষা করে। এ জন্যে, তাদের প্রথম পদক্ষেপ হওয়া উচিত শহরের একটি বাড়ী ঠিক করা, যেখানে বিপদের সময় সবাই মিলে আশ্রয় নেওয়া যাবে। এবং এ জন্যে কমিশনারের বাড়ীই সবচেয়ে উপযুক্ত।[২২]

এর মধ্যে লেফটেন্যান্ট লুইসের অধীনে একশো নৌ-সেনা দু'টি ১৪ ইঞ্চির কামান নিয়ে পৌছেছিলো ঢাকায়।[২৩] আস্তানা গেড়েছিলো তারা ব্যাপটিষ্ট চার্চের উল্টোদিকে এক বাড়ীতে এবং যারা শহর ছেড়ে পালিয়েছিলো তারা আবার ফিরে এসেছিলো নিজ নিজ বাড়িঘরে।[২৪]

ইতিমধ্যে ৩০ জুলাই ঢাকা কলেজে ইউরোপীয় অধিকাংশকে [প্রায় ষাটজন] নিয়ে একটি সভা হয়েছিলো। উদ্দেশ্য একটি স্বেচ্ছাসেবক বাহিনী হবে। ঠিক হয়েছিলো দু'ধরনের স্বেচ্ছাসেবক বাহিনী হবে। পদাতিক এবং ঘোড়সওয়ার। মেজর স্মিথ ও মিঃ হিচিন্স যথাক্রমে অধিনায়ক নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন পদাতিক এবং ঘোড়সওয়ার বাহিনীর।[২৫]

উত্তেজনা ক্রমেই বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছিলো এবং তার বিস্ফোরণ ও সমাপ্তি ঘটেছিলো ২১ থেকে ২৬ নভেম্বরের মধ্যে।

২১ নভেম্বর গোয়েন্দা সূত্রে, চাঁটগার সিপাহীদের বিদ্রোহের খবর ঢাকায় পৌছুলে লেঃ লুইস, সামরিক ও বেসামরিক লোকদের এক বৈঠকে ঠিক করেছিলেন যে, ঢাকার দেশী সিপাহীদের নিরস্ত্র করা হবে।[২৬]

২২ নভেম্বর সকাল পাঁচটায় স্বেচ্ছাসেবকদের জড়ো হতে বলা হয়েছিলো (জায়গার নাম উল্লেখ করা হয়নি)। ঠিক সময়ে কমিশনার, জজ, কিছু সিভিলিয়ান এবং বিশ ত্রিশজন স্বেচ্ছাসেবক জড়ো হয়েছিলো। ভোরের আলো ফোটেনি তখনও ।[২৭]

প্রথমে, তারা নিরস্ত্র করেছিলো তোষাখানার প্রহরীদের। প্রহরায় ছিল তখন পনের জন প্রহরী। যথেষ্ট ক্ষুব্ধ হয়েছিলো তারা এবং তা জানিয়েছিলও। প্রহরীরা বলেছিলো, এসবের কোন দরকার ছিল না। অফিসাররা নির্দেশ দিলেই তারা আত্মসমর্পণ করতো।[২৮]

নৌসেনারা লালবাগ দুর্গে পৌছে দেখেছিলো সিপাহীরা প্রস্তুত। তারা বোধহয় আগেই খবর পেয়েছিলো। প্রহরী গুলি ছুড়েছিলো। ইংরেজ পক্ষের মারা গিয়েছিলো একজন। অন্যান্য সিপাহীরাও এরপর গুলি ছোঁড়া শুরু করেছিলো। নৌসেনারা অগ্রসর হয়েছিলো কেল্লার দক্ষিণ দিকের ভাঙ্গা ফটক দিয়ে। এই ফটক রক্ষার জন্যে বিবি পরীর কবরের সামনে কামান বসানো হয়েছিলো। নৌসেনারা ভেতরে ঢোকা মাত্রই উড়ে এসেছিলো এক ঝাঁক গুলি। লেঃ লুইস সৈন্যদের নিয়ে বাঁ দিকে দুর্গ প্রাচীরের ওপর ওঠে বেয়নেট চার্জ করে সিপাহীদের পিছু হটাতে লাগলেন। সিপাহীরা আশ্রয় নিয়েছিলো নিজেদের আস্তানায়। কিন্তু সৈন্যরা সেখান থেকে খুঁচিয়ে খুঁচিয়ে তাদের বের করতে লাগলো। ভয়ংকর যুদ্ধের পর কেল্লা ছেড়ে পালিয়েছিলো সিপাহীরা। পেছনে রেখে গিয়েছিলো ৪০টি মৃতদেহ। ইংরেজ পক্ষে নিহত হয়েছিলো একজন।[২৯]

কিন্তু হৃদয়নাথ মজুমদার নামে একজন বাঙালী উকিলের বিবরণ, ইংরেজ ব্রেণান্ড (১৯১৫) থেকে একটু ভিন্ন। এবং সত্য বোধহয় লুকিয়ে আছে এই দু'য়ের মাঝে।

হৃদয়নাথ লিখেছেন, ব্যাটালিয়ানের কাপ্তান একদিন আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে তার সুবেদারকে ডেকে জিজ্ঞেস করেছিলো, পেনশন দিয়ে তাদের চাকরি থেকে অবসর দিলে তারা রাজী আছে কি না। সুবাদার তার সংগীদের সংগে পরামর্শ করার সময় চেয়েছিলেন।[৩০]

কিন্তু ঐ রাতেই ইংরেজরা আক্রমণ করেছিলো দুর্গ। সিপাহীরা এ ধরনের কোন আক্রমণ আশা করেনি। নিরুদ্বেগে তারা ঘুমিয়েছিলো। গুলিবর্ষণের শব্দে বিমূঢ় হয়ে গেলেও, বিপদ দেখে ত্বরিত তারা নিজেদের তৈরী করে নিয়েছিলো। তাদের প্রত্যেকের কাছেই ছিল দশরাউণ্ড গুলি এবং প্রত্যুত্তর দিয়েছিলো তারা তা দিয়েই।

অস্ত্রাগারের চাবি ছিল সুবেদারের কাছে।[৩১] সিপাহীরা তাকে অস্ত্রাগার খুলে দিতে বললে সে অস্বীকৃতি জানিয়েছিলো। সুবাদারের স্ত্রীও অনুরোধ জানিয়ে হয়েছিলো প্রত্যাখ্যাত। সিপাহীরা এ পর্যায়ে সুবেদারকে হত্যা করে চাবি ছিনিয়ে নিতে চেয়েছিলো কিন্তু তখন ইংরেজরা হয়ে উঠেছিলো প্রবল এবং অস্ত্রের অভাবে সিপাহীদের তখন আত্মসমর্পণ করতে হয়েছে।[৩২]

আরেকটি বিবরণে জানা যায় ভোরে দুর্গ আক্রমণের সময় সিপাহীরা একেবারেই তৈরী ছিল না। কারণ তখন তারা 'প্রাতঃকৃত্যাদি সমাপনে' ব্যস্ত ছিল।[৩৩]

এসব বিবরণ থেকে একটি বিষয় স্পষ্ট হয় ওঠে যে, ইংরেজরা বিনা প্ররোচনায় সিপাহীদের আক্রমণ করে তাদের নৃশংসভাবে হত্যা করেছিলো। সিপাহীদের মারা গিয়েছিলো একচল্লিশ জন, তিনজনের মৃত্যু হয়েছিলো নদী পেরুতে গিয়ে। আহতের সংখ্যাও ছিল প্রচুর। ইংরেজ পক্ষে আহত হয়েছিলো আঠারো জন। গ্রেফতারকৃত কুড়িজনের দশজনকে ফাঁসি এবং বাকী দশজনকে দেওয়া হয়েছিলো যাবজ্জীবন কারাদণ্ড। পলায়নরত সিপাহীদের বাহিনী জামালপুর, ময়মনসিংহ হয়ে ব্রহ্মপুত্রের কাছে পৌছায় এবং তারপর ব্রহ্মপুত্র পেরিয়ে চলে গিয়েছিলো রংপুরে।[৩৪]

সিপাহীদের বিচারের বর্ণনা দিয়েছেন ব্রেণান্ড খুব সাধারণভাবে, যেন এটাই ছিল ভবিতব্য। যেমন ৩০ নভেম্বরের রোজনামচায় তিনি লিখেছেন, তিনজন বিদ্রোহীকে আজ সকালে ফাঁসি দেওয়া হল। আগে দেওয়া হয়েছিল আটজনকে। সবমিলিয়ে ফাঁসি দেওয়া হলো এগারোজনকে (সরকারী হিসেবে ১০ জন) আমরা মনে করি এ সময় এ ধরনের উদাহরণের একান্ত প্রয়োজন ছিল। এ ধরনের উদাহরণ মানুষের উপর চমৎকার প্রতিক্রিয়ার সৃষ্টি করবে। এখন নেটিভরা যেমন ভদ্র, আগে আমার মনে হয় না তাদের কখনও এমন দেখেছি।[৩৫]

নোয়াখালীতে চট্টগ্রাম ব্রিদোহের খবর পৌছার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট সাইমন প্রস্তত হয়েছিলেন দু'হাজার সশস্ত্র লোক নিয়ে [মনে হয় সংখ্যাটি অতিরঞ্জিত] ভুলুয়ার রাজা

প্রতাপচন্দ্র ও ঈশ্বরচন্দ্র সিংহ যোগাড় করে পাঠিয়েছিলেন এদের। রাজারা শক্ত দেয়াল দিয়ে ঘেরা তাদের পাকা কাছাড়ি ছেড়ে দিয়েছিলেন ইংরেজদের ব্যবহারের জন্যে এবং সেটাকেই পরিণত করা হয়েছিল দুর্গে।[৩৬] কিন্তু সিপাহীরা আসেনি নোয়াখালীতে।

কুমিল্লাতেও এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো উত্তেজনার এবং ইউরোপীয়রা পরিবার পরিজনদের পাঠিয়ে দিয়েছিলো ঢাকায়। কিন্তু সিপাহীরা কুমিল্লায় না এসে সিঙ্গার বিলের মধ্যে দিয়ে চলে গিয়েছিলো সিলেটের দিকে।[৩৭]

ময়মনসিংহে ঢাকার ঘটনাবলীর পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো যথেষ্ট উত্তেজনার। শহরের অধিকাংশ অধিবাসী ছিলেন হিন্দু এবং নভেম্বর মাসে তারা এই ভেবে ভয় পাচ্ছিলেন যে, ঢাকার বিদ্রোহী সিপাহীরা শহরে ঢুকে লুটপাট করতে পারে। সিপাহীরা যেদিন প্রবেশ করেছিলো ময়মনসিংহে সেদিনের বিবরণ দিয়েছেন কৃষ্ণকুমার মিত্র তাঁর আত্মজীবনীতে। শহর ছেড়ে ঐ দিন লোকজন পালিয়েছিলো। কৃষ্ণকুমারের পরিবারের সদস্যরা বাড়ীর পিছনে ঝোপঝাড়ে জিনিসপত্র ও নিজেদের লুকিয়েছিলেন। লিখেছেন তিনি, "ঐ দিন শহরময় যে চিৎকার হইয়াছিল তাহা বেশ মনে আছে।"[৩৮] সিপাহীরা নীরবে শম্ভূগঞ্জ বাজারের মধ্যে দিয়ে উত্তর পশ্চিম দিকের রাস্তা ধরে চলে গিয়েছিলো।[৩৯]

বরিশালও প্লাবিত হয়ে উঠেছিলো গুজবে।-- কাবুলিরা নাকি 'বিদ্রোহের' গুজব ছড়াচ্ছিলো।[৪০] ফরাযীদের সংখ্যাও নাকি বেশ ছিল এবং আশংকা করা হচ্ছিলো তারা হয়ত কিছু করতে পারে। স্বেচ্ছাসেবক বাহিনী গড়ে তোলারও প্রস্তুতি নেওয়া হয়েছিলো সেখানে।[৪১] এ ছাড়া পুরো অঞ্চল ছিল মোটামুটি শান্ত।

সিলেটের বাহিনী ছিল সরকার অনুগত। তাই সেখানে তেমন কিছু ঘটেনি। তবে, জানুয়ারি মাসের শেষের দিকে হঠাৎ শোনা গেলো হাজি সৈয়দ বখত নামে এক মুসলমান জমিদার অস্ত্র সংগ্রহ করেছেন। তদন্ত করে জানা গেলো, তাঁর কাছে চাঁদির কামান আছে ছ'টি যা মহরমের সময় ব্যবহার করা হতো। কামানগুলি হাজী বখত থেকে নিয়ে নেওয়া হয়েছিলো। এছাড়া সিলেটে তেমন কিছু আর ঘটেনি।[৪২]

সামগ্রিকভাবে, ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ পূর্ববঙ্গে এ ভাবেই হয়েছিল। পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে বিদ্রোহের মূল কেন্দ্রগুলি ছিল অনেকদূরে। কিন্তু তার রেশ পৌঁছেছিলো এখানেও। কলকাতা বা ঢাকার মত শহরে যদি খোলাখুলি বিদ্রোহ শুরু হতো তাহলে উত্তরাঞ্চলের মত বাংলায় হয়ত তা ছড়িয়ে পড়তো। তখন,"বাংলা সরকারের অধীনে এমন একটা জেলা ছিল না যা প্রত্যক্ষ বিপদের মধ্য দিয়ে যায়নি কিংবা ঘোরতর বিপদের আশংকা করেনি।"[৪৩]

উপরোক্ত বিবরণও তা সমর্থন করে। পুরো পূর্ববঙ্গ তখন কাটিয়েছিলো আতঙ্কে। চট্টগ্রামেই মাত্র সিপাহীরা প্রকাশ্যে বিদ্রোহ করেছিলো। ঢাকার সিপাহীরা চঞ্চল হয়ে উঠেছিলো মাত্র। কিন্তু ইংরেজদের অতি আতঙ্কের কারণে সেটিই হয়ে উঠেছিলো অপরাধের বিষয়।

এখন প্রশ্ন উঠতে পারে, পূর্ববঙ্গে ঐ সময় কারা সমর্থন করেছিলো ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারকে ?

জমিদাররা সামগ্রিকভাবে সাহায্য করেছিলো ইংরেজদের। ঢাকার কমিশনার জানিয়েছিলেন, তাঁর বিভাগের নেটিভ জমিদার ও অন্যান্যরা তাঁকে প্রচুর সাহায্য করেছিলেন, যেমন শিবজয় উজির, নাসিরুদ্দীন, মনোহর, রাজ কিষেণ রায়, মাহমুদ গাজী চৌধুরী , বিবি আসান্নিসা, আসাদ আলী মৌলভী এবং যশোধর কুমার পাইন। বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখিত হয়েছিলো জমিদার গনি মিয়ার কথা, পরবর্তীকালে যিনি এ কারণে নবাব খেতাব পেয়েছিলেন।[৪৪] নবাব গনি বলেছিলেন, "এই সঙ্কটময় সময়ে আমার উপস্থিতি সরকারকে সাহস যোগাবে। আমার অনুপস্থিতিতে আতঙ্ক বিস্তার করবে যা রোধে আমরা এখন শঙ্কিত।" তিনি তারপর তাঁর বাড়ী দুর্ভেদ্য করেছিলেন, পরিবারবর্গকে সজ্জিত করেছিলেন অস্ত্রে, সরকারকে দান করেছিলেন মোটা অঙ্কের অর্থ। সাহায্য করেছিলেন সরকারকে হাতি, ঘোড়া, নৌকো সবকিছু দিয়ে।[৪৬] এক কথায় বলা যেতে পারে, বাংলাদশের জমিদার, তিনি হিন্দু-মুসলমান যাই হোন না কেন সমর্থন করেছিলেন ঔপনেবেশিক সরকারকে। কারণ নিজ অস্তিত্বের জন্য তারা সম্পূর্ণভাবে নির্ভরশীল ছিলেন ঔপনিবেশিক শাসনের ওপর।

মধ্যশ্রেণী, পেশাজীবীদেব একাংশও সমর্থন করেছিলেন ইংরেজদের। ঢাকায় সিপাহীদের নিপাতের খবর শুনে ভদ্রলোকরা বেশ উল্লাসিত হয়েছিলেন। চাকুরিজীবী মধ্যশ্রেণী ইংরেজ শাসনে প্রগতির পথ লক্ষ্য করেছিলেন। প্রাক ইংরেজ আমলকে তারা মনে করতেন ভয়াবহ সামন্তযুগ বলে।[৪৭] তবে পূর্ববঙ্গের শহরবাসীদের বিরাট অংশ যে ইংরেজদের সহযোগীতা করেছিলো এমন কোন তথ্য পাওয়া যায় নি। বরং সরকারী এবং অন্যান্য সূত্রে জানা যায়, সরকারকে ঐ সময় তারা এড়িয়ে চলতে চেয়েছিলো। সরকারের পক্ষে তখন বাংলাদেশ থেকে রসদ ও যানবাহন সংগ্রহ করা কঠিন হয়ে পড়েছিলো এবং জোর করে কৃষকদের কাছ থেকে তা সংগ্রহের জন্য পাশ করতে হয়েছিলো ' ইমপ্রেসমেন্ট এ্যাক্ট। এই আইনবলেও সরকার তেমন সুবিধে করতে পারেনি।[৪৭] রংপুরের কালেক্টর সরকারকে জানিয়েছিলেন, সাধারণ মানুষ সৈন্যদের এড়িয়ে চলে এবং রসদ ও অন্যান্য জিনিসপত্র যাতে সরবরাহ করতে না হয় সে জন্য পালিয়ে বেড়ায়।[৪৮]

১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ, ইংরেজরা দমন করেছিলো দু'বছরের মধ্যে। বিদ্রোহ দমিত হয়েছিলো সত্যি কিন্তু এর স্মৃতি কখনও ভারতীয়দের [বাঙ্গালীদের] মন থেকে মুছে যায় নি। ভারতীয় জাতীয়তাবাদের ইতিহাসে এর গুরুত্ব অপরিসীম। পরবর্তীকালের ভারতীয় জেনারেশনকে জাতীয়তাবাদে উদ্বুদ্ধ করার জন্য ব্যবহৃত হয়েছিলো এ বিদ্রোহ। বিভিন্ন ভাষার সাহিত্যে, লোকগাথাঁয় টিকে ছিল বিদ্রোহীদের স্মৃতি।[৪৯]

১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ তাৎক্ষণিকভাবে না হলেও, পরবর্তী সময়ের জন্যে কিছু প্রতীক মূল্যবোধের সৃষ্টি করেছিলো, যে, বৃটিশ শাসন অমোঘ নয়। এর বিরুদ্ধেও বিদ্রোহ করা চলে। দ্বিতীয়, এ বিদ্রোহ কিছু জাতীয় বীরের সৃষ্টি করেছিলো। এবং প্রায় প্রত্যেক আন্দোলনের প্রস্তুতি পর্বে এ ধরনের কিছু বীরের প্রয়োজন হয়। ভারতীয়রা তা পেয়েছিলো। এর প্রতিফলন দেখি আমরা সাধারণ মানুষের মধ্যে।

১৮৫৭ সালের ঘটনাবলি পূর্ববঙ্গের কৃষক নীরব দর্শক হিসেবেই অবলোকন করেছিলেন, কিন্তু, এসব ঘটনাবলী যে তার ওপর ছাপ ফেলেনি একথা বলা যাবে না। কারণ এ বিদ্রোহের দুবছর পরই আমরা দেখি বাংলা জুড়ে শুরু হয়েছিলো নীল বিদ্রোহ। ঔপনিবেশিক প্রভুদের বিরুদ্ধে যে প্রতিবাদ করা যায়, কৃষকদের মনে অন্তত এ চেতনার সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো। শুধু তাই নয়, যশোর খুলনায় নীলবিদ্রোহের সময় দেখা গেছে, চাষীরা তাদের নেতাদের নাম আদর করে রেখেছিলেন নানা সাহেব বা তাতিয়া তোপী।[৫০] আসলে, অন্যান্য অঞ্চলের মতো, পূর্ববঙ্গেও বিদ্রোহের উপকরণ জমা হয়েছিলো, কিন্তু সফল যোগাযোগের অভাবেই ব্যাপক বিদ্রোহ এখানে ঘটেনি।[৫১]

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৯. সুকুমার মিত্র, *১৮৫৭ ও বাংলাদেশ* [কলকাতা, ১৯৬০, পৃ. ১]।

১০. মেটকাফ, *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ*, পৃ. ১১।

১১. "Susobhan Sarkar', View on 1857', *On the Bengal Renaissance*, Calcutta, 1979, p 116 প্রমোদ সেনগুপ্ত লিখেছেন, ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ, ছিল 'প্রথম জাতীয় গণ অভ্যুত্থান' এবং অধ্যাপক হীবেন্দ্রনাথ দত্তের ভাষায়, ভাবতের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের 'প্রথম অপক্ক অভিব্যক্তি'। দেখুন, প্রমোদ সেনগুপ্ত, *ভাবতীয় মহাবিদ্রোহ*, কলকাতা, ১৯৫৭। লর্ড ক্যানিং লিখেছিলেন, 'যে সংগ্রামের মুখোমুখি আমবা হয়েছিলাম তাকে আঞ্চলিক অভ্যুত্থান না বলে জাতীয় অভ্যুত্থান বলাই শ্রেয়।' উদ্ধৃত, S Gopal *British Policy in India 1858, 1905* Cambridge, 1955, p I.

১২. *ঐ*।

১৩. F. J. Halliday, *Minute by Lt Governor of Bengal on the Mutineers as they effected the Lower Provinces Under the Government of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1858, p 71

১৪. রতনলাল চক্রবর্তী, *সিপাহীযুদ্ধ ও বাংলাদেশ*, ঢাকা, ১৯৮৪, পৃ. ৫৬।

১৫. হ্যালিডে, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ৭৫।

১৬. *ঐ*, পৃ. ৭৭।

১৭. *Dacca News*, 21-3-1857.

১৮. Hridaynath Majumdar, *Reminiscences of Dacca*, Calcutta 1926 p 18

১৯. Brennand 'Echoes of the Indian Mutiny at Dacca' *The Dacca Review* vol v' and vi, No vii and viii, 1915, p. 244

২০. *Dacca News*, 2-5-1857.

২১. ব্রেনান্ড, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ২৪৪।

২২. *Dacca News*, 13.6.1857

২৩. *ঐ*, ২০.৬.১৮৫৭।

২৪. *ঐ*, ২৭.৬.১৮৫৭।

২৫. *ঐ*, ১.৮. ১৮৫৭।

২৬. হ্যালিডে, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ৭৫।

২৭. ব্রেনান্ড, *প্রাগুক্ত*, ২৬.১১. ১৮৫৭, পৃ. ২৪৭।

২৮. *ঐ*।

২৯. *ঐ*।

৩০. হৃদয়নাথ মজুমদার, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ২০।

৩১. *ঐ*।

৩২. *ঐ*।
৩৩. রেবতী মোহন দাস, '*আত্মকথা*', কলকাতা, ১৩৪১ (বাংলা), পৃ. ৩।
৩৪. হ্যালিডে, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ৭৫।
৩৫. ব্রেনান্ড, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ২৪৮।
৩৬. 'ইংলিশম্যান', ৩.১২.১৮৫৭, উদ্ধৃত, প্রমোদরঞ্জন সেনগুপ্ত, *নীল বিদ্রোহ ও বাঙালী সমাজ*, কলকাতা, ১৯৭৮, পৃ. ৫২।
৩৭. রতনলাল চক্রবর্তী, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ৮৬-৮৮।
৩৮. কৃষ্ণকুমার মিত্র, *আত্মচরিত*, কলকাতা, ১৩৮১ (বাংলা সাল), পৃ ১৭-১৮।
৩৯. কেদারনাথ মজুমদার, *ময়মনসিংহের ইতিহাস*, কলকাতা, ১৯০৬, পৃ. ১৮১।
৪০. *Dacca News*, 25.4 1857.
৪১. হ্যালিডে, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ৭৪।
৪২. *ঐ*, পৃ. ৫০।
৪৩. C E Bucklnd, *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors*, vol I, New Delhi, 1976, p 68
৪৪. হ্যালিডে, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ৮১।
৪৫. বাকল্যান্ড, *প্রাগুক্ত*, দ্বিতীয় খন্ড, পৃ. ১০২৯।
৪৬. সুশোভন সরকার, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ১২২।
৪৭. বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, প্রমোদরঞ্জন সেনগুপ্তের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ*। তিনি লিখেছেন, বাঙালীদের অসহযোগিতার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে 'মাদ্রাজ এথেনিয়াম' লিখেছিল "এখানে সেখানে দু' একজন বাঙালী নেটিভকে দেখা যায় আমাদের প্রতি মৌখিক সহানুভূতি জানাচ্ছে, কিন্তু আমাদের এই ভয়ানক বিপদের সময় তাদের কেউ কি ব্যক্তিগত ভাবে কিংবা তাদের অর্থ দিয়ে আমাদের সাহায্যার্থে এগিয়ে এসেছে ? .. তারা বিপদের ধারে কাছে দিয়েও যায়নি ..." এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে 'ইন্ডিয়ান ফিল্ড' লিখেছিলো- 'মি. নর্টন (এথেনিয়ামের লেখক) যদি ইমপ্রেসমেন্ট আইনের জোরে বাঙালার কোনো গ্রামে যেতেন, তাহলে নিশ্চয়ই দু' একটা ভাঙা গাড়ি ও কানা বলদ যোগাড় করতে পারতেন না। এইরূপ অবস্থা বুঝতে পেরে সরকার তার ইমপ্রেসমেন্ট আইন ব্যবহার করেন নি।"... পৃ. ১৫৩।
৪৮. ফোর্ট উইলিয়ামের বকসীর নিকট রংপুরের কালেক্টরের পত্র, ১২.১২. ১৮৫৭, বাংলাদেশ সচিবালয় রেকর্ডস, রংপুর জেলা, প্রেরিত পত্র, ভল্যুম ৩৬০, পত্র সংখ্যা ৩১৭, পৃ. ২১২-২১৩, উদ্ধৃত, রতন লাল চক্রবর্তী, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ৯৯।
৪৯. Kalikinkar Datta, *Reflection on the 'Mutiny'*, Calcutta, 1967 p. 74 বাংলা ভাষায় বিখ্যাত সাহিত্যিকরা বিদ্রোহ নিয়ে উপন্যাস না লিখলেও, গৌণ সাহিত্যিকরা লিখেছিলেন বেশ ক'টি উপন্যাস। এ সব উপন্যাস লেখা হয়েছিলো বেশ সতর্কতার সঙ্গে, যাতে সরকার অসন্তুষ্ট না হন। কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও কোন কোন গ্রন্থে, বিদ্রোহী নায়কদের প্রতি পক্ষপাত প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। যেমন, উপেন্দ্র চন্দ্র মিত্র, তাঁর 'নানাসাহেব' উপন্যাসের দ্বিতীয় সংস্করণে (১৮৮৩) লিখেছিলেন "... আমরা হৃদয়ের সাধ যে আজ ঘরে ঘরে, দ্বারে দ্বারে, গ্রামে গ্রামে এমনকি শয়নে স্বপনে আলোচিত হইতেছে, ইহাই আমার আনন্দের বিষয়।" রমেন্দ্র বর্মন, *মহাবিদ্রোহ ও বাংলা উপন্যাস*, কলকাতা, ১৩৮৭, পৃ. ১৩।
৫০. সতীশচন্দ্র মিত্র, *যশোর খুলনার ইতিহাস*, দ্বিতীয় খন্ড, কলকাতা, ১৯৬৩, ৭৮১।
৫১. প্রমোদরঞ্জন সেনগুপ্ত, *নীলবিদ্রোহ ও বাঙালী সমাজ*, কলকাতা, ১৯৭৮, পৃ. ১৫৪।

সংকলন

[Unusual Exitement in Dacca]

There has been unusual exitement in Dacca in connection with the sepoys stationed here. It has been said that the Europeans are about immediately to leave town surrendering everything to the sepoy— that a European regiment is within a day march of Dacca, and that the sepoy are prepared to resist them to the last—that the sepoy intend to loot the town and etc. We need not say that the rumours are absurd. What could two hundred men without leaders do against the people of Dacca. We believe that the sepoys are as much afraid of the townspeople as the latter are of them. there is no doubt however, that a bad feeling has sprung up between the townspeople and the sepoys, and that the sooner the latter are relieved the better. This is we believe partly owing to their having no officers with them. Lieutenant Dowell of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Hitchins Executive officer, deserve great praise for the manner in which they have endeavoured to supply the place of the officers who ought to have been with the man.

21.3.1857

[Sepoy and the Brahmin Baker]

We are glad to learn that the sepoy who assulted the Brahmin Baker has been sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred rupees, or to suffer imprisonment for six months.

28.3.1857

[Friends opinion]

The FRIEND[১] remarking upon the sepoys beating the brahmin baker, and fear of the people of Dacca of outrages by the military, re-assures them by the remark, that there are only 200 sepoys,and it takes four of them to thrash a Bengalee.

4.4.1857

[Fourteen years R.I]

The two sepoys of the 34 N. I. who tried to seduce the Mint Guard[২] have been sentenced to fourteen years labor in irons.

18.4.1857

[News from Burrisaul]

BURRISAUL

There is a cock and bull kind of a report current in the Bazar, and generally believed by a certain class of the natives that Lord Canning[৩] has received instruction from the queen to make christians of all Hindoos and Mussulman, and that Dr. Mout. is expected in the next Steamer, with a European regiment which is to

be stationed here. That as soon as Government have got troops into every station, the process of christianising is to commence and to be enforced at the point of sword and bayonet. The upcountry cloth merchants and other up country men, most of whom have relations or friends in the regiments, give a colour to the story, by adding that the sepoys are prevented from writing home, and that all letters to them from home are intercepted. The reason given is, that Government is wide awake, and being afraid of the country rising all at once have prevented intercommunication.

Now, however much we feel inclined to laugh at such a crude story, yet it makes one think, if the populace were to rise on some supposed grievance, and to cut out throats, how foolish and impotent Government would look. The district has many thousands Ferazees [৮] who would think it a meritorius deed to cut the throat of a christian dog. It is often stated that there is no fear, as there is no union among natives. This may be true so far that they could not hold out against the Government any time. What damage may not be done in the interim! the cause of these sort of report going about is no doubt owing to the mutiny of the 19th NI....

25 4 1857

[News from Mymensing][১]

We have much pleasure in publishing the following correspondence showing that should real danger occur at Mymensing of which there is now scarcely a possibility, the authorities may count on the support of the Christians there. We think it a pity that a few muskets should not be furnished to the Magistrate, to be available for those who are willing to defend themeselves. In our correspondence columns will be found an account of the panic. The following letters passed between the Christians and the authorities on that occasion.

To W. T. TROTTER ESQ
Judge of
MYMENSING

Sir,—We the undermentioned would beg most respectfully to inform you, that a rumour of this morning regarding the return of some sepoys of the 73rd who had gone to join the regiment at Jolpeegooree, and their purchasing Guns and ammunition from the Bazar here, has caused a terrible panic in our families; and, as we are placed in jeopardy for the want of arms & to protect ourselves, families and property, as well as to defend any public property which we may be able to do, we request your interference towards that welfare of the town and the Christian inhabitants (Who bear a true allegiance to the British Government) by adopting some means for the supply of Guns with apparatus, so as to enable us to stand together in time of need, and aid the authorities in securing the peace of the inhabitants, and the preservation of the Town.

We would further take the liberty to ask you to speak to the Magistrate to warn the police officers of the several Thannahs to be on the alert, and never to fail in giving timely notice, and apprehend any person suspected to be any of the disaffected sepoys, and to have a patrol night and day until the panic eases.

We have the honor to be
Sir
Your most faithful Servants.

JOHN BIRD	A. A. CHATER
JOHN BARTISTE	N. J. JORDON
ROD: ANTY: BAPTISTE	JOHN. HERMES
A. ROD: BAPTISTE	THOS. JAHANS
JOHN R. BAPTISTE	JONATHAN JAHANS
JOHN DEROZARIO	JOSHUA JAHANS
CHAS. F. PRAZER	ARTHUR JAHANS
THOS. HENRY JAHANS	M. T. D. BISSON

To, MR. BIRD.

MYMENSING

Sir,—I beg to inform you that I will immediately forward to the Magistrate your letter containing the names of the Christain inhabitants of Mymensing, requesting to be supplied with arms & for the protection of yourselves and property, and trust that he may be able to supply you with the same.—I will also direct my Nazir to endeavour to meet your wishes as far as lies in his power, but I trust there will not be any occasion for you to have recourse to extreme measures as I understand from a letter that has been received today from Jamalpore, that the sepoys you mention are proceeding to Dacca to relieve some men of the same regiment there—At the same time I think you are quite right to be on the alert.—

I am Sir
Your Obedient Servant.
W.T. TROTTER.
18th June 1857.

Mr. J. BIRD

Sir,—I beg to forward to you, and for communication to the Petitioners the magistrate's reply to my letter to his address this morning on the subject of his supplying you with fire-arms.

You will observe that he would wish you all to go to his Cutcherry in about an hour's time, he will explain every thing to you.

I am Sir your Obedient Servant
W.T. TROTTER
18th June 1857.

To W. T. TROTTER ESQ.

My dear Trotter.—I think the petitioners had better assemble at the Cutcherry, where there will be a good .guard with fire-arms. I have not enough muskets to spare any.—If the petitioners will come to my Cutcherry in about an hour's time I will explain every thing to them. There is no occasion for any alarm.

Yours Sincerely
C.E. LAACE.

12.6.1857

DACCA

THE PHOENIX[৭] states that the editor of the ENGLISHMAN[৮] has been called up and warned by the authorities. We can hardly believe this to be the case.

A. CORRESPONDENT from Burrisaul says that they are all quiet there but that the natives are carrying their heads very high since the distribution of the proclamations, and that it will need the news of the fall of Delhi to lower them again.

We heard from Chittagong dated the 16th Instant, that Mr. Steer the Commissioner had not returned from Noakholly whither he had gone with all his family. The people were in daily fear of an outbreak there. Three Seikhs it was said had deserted from the three companies of the 34th stationed there. One was said to have been again found in the act of hanging himself.—The sepoys must be mad to think of revolting, as they have no Delhi to go to without passing Dacca, where "our sailors" would soon give and account of them.

THE PHOENIX thinks that the sepoys ought to be allowed to desert from the disarmed regiments, as each deserter saves pay and pension to the state. He forgets that if many desert and are allowed to roam over the country, there is not a Mofussil resident, rich native or European, who can for a moment feel himself safe from Sir Norman Lescie's fate.

THE forty sepoys who occasioned the panic in Mymensing arrived here on the 22nd Instant. They were men from Jolpigooree, coming to fill up the places of those who had gone on leave the other day. We would suggest that no party of sepoys should be allowed to travel without a European officer. Had this been the case with this party much unnecessary alarm would have been avoided.

We fear the sepoys not as brave enemies, but as cowardly assassins who strike from behind, or when the officers who have loved and trusted them are sitting at or leaving mess. Who fears the venomous snake when he sees him. It is only because he lurks that he is feared. Men fight with and respect the Lion. They kill with the blow of a switch and fear the snake.

THE HINDOO PATRIOT[৭] declares that he had other sources of information in Abdool Jubber's case than the printed papers, which he untruly states were a "concoction of joint malice and ignorance." If his "information" is of equal value with his knowledge of the geography of this part of the country, the gentlemen who got Abdool Jubber removed need not attach much weight to the PATRIOT'S condemnation. He says that the security for the good conduct of the 73rd N.I. at Jolpigooree, as well as of its detachment in Dacca is, that "their way to the upper provinces lies through Calcutta!"—How often must we beg of our contemporary, before pronouncing so flippantly upon Mofussil matters, to make a trip beyond Chinsurah?

On the morning of the 23rd "our sailors" went out to the butts at the old lines for a little practise with their heavy guns.

12 6 1857

DACCA NEWS EXTRA.

(7 A. M. 13th June 1857)

At about half past twelve on the morning of the 12th instant, [৮] a gentleman frightened some of those residing at the mills, by telling them that the two companies of the 73rd who had left this some time ago, for Jolpeegooree, had returned, and were about to join with the two companies here, and mutiny. The ladies were immediately put on board boats and sent off, while one of the gentlemen came into town, frightening every one as he passed. At length the panic was communicated to those in the Magistrate's Cutcherry, from which our brave police rushed with loud shouts. Terror was next communicated to the College, from which the boys ran in great fright, and from this it spread to the Collectory. The sepoys quietly stood to their arms, and were soon visited by their commander Lieut. Macmilan. Messrs Dowell and Rynd proceeded to the Lal Bagh and most of the Ladies and gentlemen of the station were soon assembled in the Magistrate's house. Here it was ascertained that the whole was a false alarm, and the gentlemen immediately traversed the streets, reassuring the people. A meeting of the inhabitants was then held, and a Committee of Safety organised, whose proceedings will be found below.

NOTIFICATION

It is particularly requested that Gentlemen residing in the Station will not listen to any reports not proceeding from the Magistrate or one of the Members of the Committee formed for the protection of the inhabitants.

It is also requested that gentlemen will not circulate any report or rumours that may reach them, but will at once communicate with the Magistrate or one of the Members of the Committee who will take steps to test the truth of the said reports.

The Committee take this opportunity of informing the Residents that three is not any truth in the rumour which was spread this morning to this effect that the detachment which left the station some days ago, was returning—as letters were yesterday received from Serajgonge from Lieut. Wilcox reporting all well—

Measures are being taken by the committee to ensure the safety of the several residents.—

(signed.)

C. F. Carnac.
C. T. Hitchins.
Wallis Dowell.
R.C. Carnegie.

It is proposed that the Christain inhabitants of Dacca do take measure for their mutual protection.

The first step proposed, is to select a house where all shall congregate in case of necessity; and it is determined that the house of the Commissioner is the most eligible for that purpose.

It is further determined with a view to carry into effect the above resolutions, that a Committee consisting of Messrs Major Smith, Caranc, Dowell, Hitchins, Carnegie be appointed to assist Jenkins, the Head Executive officer present in the station, to provide everything necessary.

(Signed) C. F. Carnac
" W. Thomson
" E. S. Pearson
" C. T. Hitchins
" W. Brennand
" R. G. Carnegie
" W. Macpherson
" W. Winchester
" W. A. Green
" G. M. Lillie
" J. E. S. Lillie
" F. Supper
" Wallis Dowell

13.6.1857

OUR SAILORS

There was not a christian in Dacca whose heart did not beat more cheerily on thursday, when the 'Calcutta' steamer arrived off the town at 10-30 A.M. having on board a hundred gallant English sea men with two twelve pounders. The anxiety we have been in during the past week, not knowing then we might have to fight for our lives, was taken away, and when we saw the sailors harness themselves to the guns (would our high caste sepoys do so?) and

march up from the Sudder Ghat to the house that had been prepared for them, where they lost but little time in hoisting the Union Jack, we—well we wont say what we did, but we thought of firing off our guns and pistols which have been loaded ever since sunday last.

20 6.1857

BANGLA BAZAR FEMALE SCHOOL

We are sorry to hear that the Female School in Dacca has fallen off in attendance of the pupils since the occurance of the late panic, from the idea that the sepoys object to Female education. The sepoys are supposed to object, and the supposition of their objection is in the minds of the inhabitant of Dacca, the men who pay those very sepoys entitled to more weight than the approval of the Government.We must pay the penalty of having trusted in men who boasted faithfulness as their great and crowning virtue. We must pay the penalty not of stinginess or cruelty to our mercenaries, but of over indulgence and kindness to men who have even treated any manifestation of those qualities in us as a proof of our weakness. But the day is we hope not far distant. when we shall be able to say, that what is declared to be deconfirmation of that voice by the Government of the land, shall not be set aside or in any way altered by the whim or the absurd prejudices of an ignorant or bigoted set of our servants. After a short time over Government shall be strong, far strongers then when we relied upon governing India by the sword. It shall be strong by being confirmed in the hearts and feeling of the people, and then no sepoy shall done to dictate to the people but each man shall be able to do what he chooses (legally) to do.

20.6.1857

[Arrival of 'Calcutta']

On the day the 'Calcutta arrived in Dacca, several young men on the other side of the river dressed themselves as sepoys, and molested some of the inhabitants. The alarm spread like wild fire, and a good deal of property we understand was lost in consequence of being thrown into tank. The Nazir soon arrested the evil doer who have, we understand, been rewarded with three months imprisonment.

27 6.1857

[Englishman's Version]

It is not true as stated in the Englishman of the 19th instant, that the sepoys in Dacca refused to let the Artillery officer take arms from the magazine for the protection of the city. Our octogenarian police were armed with the musty jail musket, which they neither knew how to load or fire. Their cartidges were great curosities, some of which we hope Dr. Green has secured for the museum. They were furnished to the Jail in 1795. This is a fact.

27.6.1857

[Arrival of Sailors]

Since the arrival of our sailor' we have enjoyed perfect tranquility, and the hopes of *budmashes* whether sepoys or others have been sadly blighted. The very day often the sailor arrived many families which had gone to the moffussil returned. We owe much also to the arrangements of Mr. Carnac, and to the assistance he has received from almost all the gentlemen who created the alarm have now become so bold, that we are afraid of being knocked down by them if we even hint that there was an alarm at all. A letter from one of the chief alarmists has appeared in the ENGLISHMAN in which he defends his conduct in nearly the same words as a "voice from the Mills" did in the DACCA NEWS last week. Another letter has also appeared in the HURKARU[৯] finding fault with the situation of the house occupied by the sailors as barrack, and insinuating that the Commissioner has placed them there to protect himself. When we state that the post office and college, we think we have said enough to show why the position was chosen. When we state that the Mitford Hospital is about a mile distant from any place which would be an object of attack, and is surrounded by native houses which would conceal any member of musketeers, and that it would be at least half an hour before the men could reach the Collectory or Bank through a narrow street, we think we have shown why the Hospital was not chosen.

27.6.1857

CORRESPONDENCE.
THE PANIC AT MYMENSING.
To the EDITOR of DACCA NEWS.

Dear Sir,—Though Mymensing is far inferior to Dacca in other respects, it is not so in respect to panics and fears. After the receipt of your DACCA NEWS and some notice in the Calcutta papers, that there were some murmurings of an outbreak at Sylhet, we were troubled with a cry that some disbanded sepoys or mutineers were about to attack our little station, and take away the treasure from the Collectorate Treasury. This report flew like the wind with a great deal of exaggeration, so much so that on the evening of the 17th the enemy was said to be actually at Pearpore about 12 miles from the Station, and a night attack was aprehended.—This rumour was confirmed from two Sepoys having been seen in the Bazar the previous evening bargaining for the purchase of some fowling pieces. Can you suppose Mr. Editor what was the scene at midnight. The Civilians were invited to take dinner at Doctor Bellwe's who lives far away at the extreme corner of the station, and of course in the convivial party they had kept up somewhat late, and as they were not themselves proof against the panic, they had their Chaprasees and Burkindazes to guard them against surprise. This was interpreted by the people that they had bolted, and all the female members of our Hindoo families were sent into Boats, or into the villages, and half of

our native Station was deserted before it was morning. By 9 o'clock A. M. the enemy was said to ha.e come to Bygunbarree, taking their breakfast before they engaged in fight. The Magistrate Mr. Lance said they were 40 Sepoys, and if he got assistance from the Zemindars, he would prevent their landing. The Christain inhabitants asked the Judge, Mr. W. Trotter, to supply them with arms and ammunition, as if they were fit to fight 40 picked and veteran Sepoys, (foolish idea!) but the poor chaps were not supplied with any; however had been an actual uproar they would have never fallen back, but would have been killed on the spot. The Judge should send in their names to Government for some reward. The Collector's old Jemadar was desired to engage additional Burkindazes, and he was engaged in choosing robust and strong built men from amongst a number of *moorgeewallas* who had volunteered their services, and as for us natives we were about to bolt away into the villages far inside, as we were either untaught or unfit to fight and use a musket or sword, (excepting the use of the pen and loquacity). Such was the uproar and confusion in our little station until 2 O'clock P.M. when Mr. Lance notified by an Ishtehar, that the 40 sepoys had gone to Dacca by the Serajgunge route, and there was no further cause for alarm:—but although the panic has now subsided it has not altogether ceased.

Now I would wish to make a few observations on the above, (and you must know that a native can make an observation in his own blunt way.) Although this little station of Mymensing is quite unguarded in case of any real attack, do you think that only 40 sepoys who must be either disbanded or mutineers, unprovided, as they would be with sufficient arms or ammunition would be able to plunder the staion and the public Treasury? Surely the number of rifles, and double barrelled and single barrelled fowling pieces that the people have, would have given them a warm reception and thinned their number seriously if not altogether, and yet it is strange that the more report of the expected arrival of so small a handful of men could have thrown the whole station, including the Civil Offices, into a shivering panic; and notwithstanding the terror has subsided since the Magistrate said that the 40 sepoys had gone by another route to Dacca, I cannot conceive what would be the state of the station if 100 real rebels had attacked the town in earnest. They would find it deserted and vacant, bidding them welcome. Do you suppose that the few *Moorgeewallas* and *Bheereewalls* (who are employed as Burkindazes,) and puny looking *peadahs* would show a fight ? Never ! They would bolt away at the first alarm, and if found in the way be the rebel sepoys, they would only be made to hasten their escape by kicks and thumps on the neck and heels, being too underserving of an attack from a musket or a sword, I should not be surprised if the few upcountry Burkindazes were to mix with them from fear or treachery, and allow the public treasury and records to be looted and the station destroyed. The Civil Officers should have more pluck, than they showed on the night of the 17th for instead of real been if some budmashes and thieves were to take advantage of

the moment and attack the treasury, they would positively have done what the mutineers or disbanded sepoys were expected to do. The only wonder which ever entered any one's brains is, where could the rebels come from to so lonely a place as Mymensing without the least information from the adjoining districts, which they would have to pass, and Mymensing can only be arrived at by Boats at this season of the year, on account of innumerable rivers and canals intersecting the district.

If Government are so kind as to permit 100 Soldiers or Sailors to protect Dacca, why did they not at least send over 25 men for the treasury and people as well as to supply the Christian inhabitants with arms, ammunition &c: for such alarms whether true or false may be again repeated and keep the district in tremour always, and I hear that the Mymensing treasury contains more money than the Dacca one, 25 of such men aided by about 50 spirited inhabitants could give a warm reception to 200 rebels. More hereafter.

Believe me to remain
Dear Sir,
Your ever faithful well wisher
BANNEY AIM WELL

Mymensing
9th June 1857

27.6.1857

NOAKHOLLY

A correspondent from Noakholly informs us that there has been a panic at Chittagong, but no proper cause for it. The sepoys there have hitherto behaved well. The Commissioner, who is ill, was at Noakholly and intended to have gone to Calcutta in the "Calcutta" steamer, which was expected there to take away the treasure, but the captain refused to go there from Dacca, believing the navigation to be dangerous. Our correspondent says:—"We are all well and plucky, the country is quiet and the people well behaved." Mr. Simson the magistrate has made capital arrangements and has no idea of giving into two or three hundred sepoys above or ·· hundred guns will be in the hands of the Europeans. the Christains, the Shikarees, and those of the Jail and Treasury guards who formerly belonged to the Chittagong provincial battallion. These guns will be supported by two thousand of the finest men in the district, principally retainers and depdndents of the Bhoolooah Rajaha, armed with swords and spears. They have elephants and horses and are prepared for all events. Mr. Simson is in charge of the Commissioners office. The Ferzees are all quiet and well affected to the magistrate.—It is well for Noakholly that it has such an officer as Mr. Simson who will we have no doubt prove himself equal to any emergency.

27 6.1857

OUR PANIC

We wrote to a friend at Serajgunge to beg him to trace the Companies of the 73rd under Lieut. Wilcox, and have received the following answer. "I hope you gave the chap who first set the panic a going a good ducking. These false alarms are more likely than anything else to put the fellows up to rising in earnest, and should be most carefully guarded against. The companies of the 73rd which you were alarmed about were in the present instance as innocent as little lammies. Boats from Rungpore, Goramara, and Bousa (bazaars on the Teesta river) have brought in almost daily accounts of the detachment of the 73rd since they left Serajgunge on the 7th Instant. On saturday the 13th they were a little above Kammarjanny bazaar and on Monday the 15th were reported by some boats that came in this morning (the 19th), to be sailing up the Teesta opposite Panella Ghat, 12 miles east of Rungpore. I shall send you an express should I at any time hear of anything of importance." Our correspondent then reports the boats with the forty men which arrived a few days ago, as having left the mouth of the Teesta on the 9th Instant. "If the 73rd at Jolpigooree do mutiny I do not think they will come down this way. They will probably plunder the Rungpore and Dinagepore treasuries and then be off for the N.W. via Monghyr, Patna Etc.—Here I do not see any signs of disaffection, but the poeple are beginning to argue about the mutinies and their causes. We have a Mussulman population on board the boats alone at the Ghat of some 50,000 men and about 500 Up-Country merchants and burkindazes residents in the bazaars; but as most of these latter are either engaged themselves very extensively in trade, or employed by the parties who are so, I do not think a rising here very likely."

If the sepoys at Jolpigooree have any regard for their brethren in Dacca, who are now in the power of a hundred European sailors eager for a fight, and angry because they have found nothing to do at Dacca, they will not mutiny. We are very doubtful if mutinous sepoys, especially if they have any plunder with them, could leave this part of the country at all. It is only a few weeks since a party of the 34th proceeding from Chittagong on furlough, were soundly thrashed at the Ferry at Furreedpore and some money taken from them.—We are sure that the magistrate of a district would only have to give a hint to the people that they might keep all the plunder the sepoys were carrying off, and that no questions would be asked, to ensure the destruction of every mutineer in North and East Bengal what we mean. Were we to search history we could produce thousands of instances in every age of the race of leaders of men we refer to. The panics which have lately seized almost every station in Bengal, the mutinies which have disgraced our army, are examples of the evil effects of allowing ourselves to by led away be the donkey leader of the flock, who too often assumes among men the place of the old ram among the sheep. The mutinies at the commencement, will probably be found to have originated in the distrurbed or discontented brains of some who had in view an increase of pay of one rupee a month, or

removal to a station where *atta* was cheaper. When it was found that no evil effects followed upon the first disobedience of orders, but that their generals dismissed them with tears in their eyes, and prayers for their future welfare, and recommendations that they should go and how at the shrines where their forefathers had worshipped the foolish sheep thought that they might still go on to leap as had been so successfully done by those who had gone before them. The Government which is too weak, thought they, to punish, may be forced to give in to our demands, and nothing beyond this we believe was in the thoughts of the second batch of mutineers. Disbanding only was their punishment, and now it became certain that the Government must yield, and the demands of a mutionus soldiery rose in consequence. Then came the rich plunder of the Imperial City of Delhi. Man after man, regiment after regiment, throughout the length and breadth of the presidency of Bengal gloated over the idea of the possession of the rich treasuries that were already in their hands, which the murder of a few confiding and helpless Europeans would enable them to secure. It was too much for men who toiled for years to amass a hundred rupees, to be continually tempted with the possession of thousands which they could not enjoy. They were daily incited to help themselves by the accounts they heard of the success of their brethern. On the one hand was the enjoyment of a good conscience, testifying that they had done their duty, seven rupees a month, and the prospect if they lived long enough to be unable to enjoy it, of a pension. On the other was the guilt of murder, a murder, however, justified by their religion, as that of a *Mlecha*, a despiser of their Gods, a condemner of Mahommed. Neither Hindoo nor Mussulman, according to their sacred books could think of the murder of such an one as a sin.—But, whatever sacred books may say, there still remains in the mind of the most depraved a horror at the idea of murdering him who has through long years cherished one. The leap, however, had been taken by the leaders of the flock. The sheep followed, and at the same time that they obeyed that instinct which is common both to men and sheep, they gratified their lust for riches—riches which they vainly imagined would bring them all enjoyments, but which most of them have already found to turn like the apples of sodom to ashes in their mouths.

But the English have been as sheep-like as the natives in following the leader, whether ram or donkey. The English have generally followed the donkey. A donkey hears a story from an ass. The donkey runs away or loads his gun or does something equally ridiculous, and all the others do so likewise. This is called a panic, and there are but few stations in Bengal which have not come under the dominion of donkeydom. Let no one imagine that we set ourselves up as super-eminently wise. We are as great a subject of donkeydom as any in Dacca. We should not like to confess all the terrors the infection of which we have caught from arrant donkeys, if we did not think that most men feel that they were as frightened as

ourselves. The relief we all felt when "our sailors" came, and the boldness of our denunciations of the conduct of the donkey who led us astray, shows what asses we were, and how frightened we were.

Donkeyhood arises generally from want of knowledge, or rather from that "little knowledge" which the poet tells us "is a dangerous thing." Take for instance our panic in Dacca. If we had known that the two companies of the 73rd instead of having returned, were quietly proceeding onwards towards their destination, we should have been at rest, and the great injury to commerce and inconvenience to families which have been the result of our Dacca panic, would never have occurred. If we had good dawks, and a newspaper published at every station, we should have known all this. Lord Canning therefore by his throwing discouragement in the way of the press, is encouraging future panics with all their attendant evils.—If the sepoys had known how utterly worthless are the things of time, as compared with those of eternity, how little a lakh of rupees is when balanced against eternal life, which can only be taught them by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they would not have mutinied. Those therefore who have discuoraged by proclamations or by actual persecution the preaching of the Gospel, have encouraged the outbreak of this and future mutinies. Having pointed out two grave errors of our Government and being liable to a revocation of our license for the same, we stop for the present.

27.61857

THE FUTURE DEFENCE OF DACCA

We have often pointed out both in this paper and in communications addressed to the authorities, that Dacca and not Jamalpore or Jolpigoree is the place at which a Force to control the surrounding districts should be stationed. Men stationed here could be immediately moved upon Mymensing, Sylhet, Tipperah, Chittagong, Noakhally, Fureedpore or Pubna. Stationed at Jamalpore they can be moved no where. From twenty days to a month would be the shortest time in which boats could be collected with the usual amount of oppression to the people, and a force of sepoys from Jamalpore landed in any one of those districts where their services might be required. It would be almost impossible to send guns with them, for sepoys do not drag their own guns as our sailors do, but require elephants or bullocks. Such guns in the Dacca or Burrisal districts, intersected by nullahs and creeks, would be useless. Sepoys here are of no use but to guard the Treasury, (quis custodiet ipsos custodes?), and to quarrel with and insult the townspeople. When they go to the neighboring districts for treasure, they are so difficult to move, the boats in which they travel are so unsafe, and they commit such oppression in the districts through which they pass, that the Government, even when very much in want of money, has often preferred to allow many lakhs of rupees to lie idly in their Treasuries for many months, than to send a treasure

party to escort it. On the 28th of last month there were from 8 to 10 lakhs in the three treasuries of Tipperah, Noakholly and Mymensing. We should like to know what arrangements have been made for taking it to Calcutta. None we venture to say, and this money will lie in insecure treasuries in the Mofussil for months, instead of being in the General Treasury where it must be very much wanted. We long ago pointed out how a different arrangement of the Collectories would have the effect of having them all emptied by being drawn against from Calcutta, but as our Governors and Lieutenant Governors have at present something else to think of besides financial arrangements, we shall point out how we think we can combine the defence of this part of the country, with the protection and transmission of the Revenues.

Under the Government of the Mogul there was always a large fleet at Dacca. We, even when we had a whole regiment here, have not had a single boat. It was impossible that any force could have been sent to quell an insurrectionary movement in any of the surrounding districts, in time to have been useful by nipping it in the bud. The consequence of this is, that we have been forced to permit for a long time the most complete defiance of our magistrates, in the remoter parts of the district, and our authority has been laughed at by a set of Mussulman ryots, whom a single European with ten Burkindazes, and no fear of the Sudder before him, would have reduced to order in three days. It may be thought that we exaggerate, but let an enquiry be made into the conduct of the Beenadpoor ryots for the last three years, within one day's distance of whose villages no Darogah dare to anchor and the truth of what we have said will be immediately apparent. Let the petitions of the Mahajuns on the subject of river dacoity be produced from Mr. Dampier's[১০] late office. Let Mr. Dampier himself be examined as to whether he did not give directions to the magistrates under him, to treat leniently and with respect notorious law-breakers in this district because they were powerful, and it will be clear to every one, that our power and authority here have long been bound by the fetters of red tape, and supported by a force which was never ready, nor, in consequence of red tape, rough. The sepoy was always a rough and ready plunderer of the sugar cane field, a ravager of the young pea crops of the simple villager, but when work was to be done he was hampered with his scruples and his caste, and all his comforts must be attended to before he could be expected to move, even to save the state he was bound to serve. What a ruin he has proved to that state late events have shown.

We want in Dacca a European force—not a large one, for God knows we are peaceable enough. We want men who will do what they are bid, and do it quickly. We do not want soldiers, for there is scarcely a space of ground unintersected with water, large enough for their manuoevers. We are quite aware that English soldier will put themselves on board boats, will pull the oar, will do anything that

they are bid to do: but a soldier pulling an oar is very likely to catch a crab, which miscatorial effort is not conducive to much expedition in either warlike or peaceable occupations.

What we want in Dacca—for we believe that the folly will not, for several generations be again committed, of entrusting ourselves to natives only; unless, like the planter, we are unfettered by red tape, and are ready to do what the circumstances demand without considering whether we are bound by red tape to do so or not;—what we want is a force such as we have not here—sailors—men who learned from Nelson that what England expected from a man was his "duty," without any reference to caste or prejudices.—An hundred or, better still, two hundred sailors stationed in barracks here, with a ship's long boat or a gun boat as their ship, a pinnance or two, and a couple of paddle boats would be worth more to the state than two regiments of sepoys.—Should anything serious, calling for the aid of guns occur in any of the neighboring districts—a thing most unlikely— the gun boat with half the men might be on the spot next day or in two days at farthest. It would take weeks to move sepoys. It would take several days to move English soldiers unless indeed they had a Colonel Neile commanding. But we believe that there would be very little call for their services in this way. What they would be most useful for is, to command that sense of respect for the law, which is impressed upon most men when they are aware that the law has always at its command a strong arm, which it can raise to strike when necessary to do so. That power requires to be revealed every now and then to the people. When too long hidden or unused it comes to be disbelieved in. Such a manifestation of power has been long required in Bengal. It was disbelieved in the leniency of the Government, in consequence of the long time that had elapsed since the display of its power, was thought to be the effect of weakness. We have been compelled to put forth our power, and sad has been, and will be, the fate of the poor victims who have been, by our culpable indulgence, led to consider themselves our equals in power and in strength.

But in the time of tranquility and of peace the sailors would be most useful. If there were a couple of paddle boats at their disposal, they would bring in the revenue from the neighboring districts within a few days after if had been paid in, which, when the line of steamers which ought to have been established between Dacca and Calcutta many years ago, is in full action, will place this money at the disposal of the Government within a very short time after it is collected, instead of leaving it in some instances lying, for the greater part of the year unproductive.

Two Hundred European sailors would not cost three quarters of the expense of sepoys, and would be-we will not say three times—we say infinitely more useful to their employers. We say nothing of what good they would do in a district—what improved plans of boat building, carpentery, rope making, smith's work & they would introduce. We have known several old "shipples" as planters. The

number of "dodges" in which they instructed the "niggers" around them was surprising. We behave that the establishment of a garrison of Europan sailors here would be nearly as useful as the College. The one given a mental and theoretical. while the other would give a practical education.

We must make India more English. We are now so few in India, that we become Indianised instead of Anglicising the Indians. It is so long since we saw or spoke to a European of the lower orders that we really do not know how we ought to behave to him. We know well that we cannot give him a blow and call him a *soor* as we can to a native. We also know that he is not our equal and owes us a certain respect. Yet when a sailor touched his hat to us the other night, which by the way but few of the sepoys do, we could not resist taking off our hat to him. There is something in the white face in this country which demands respect. It is now time that the white face should become more common, and should command more respect than it at present does from the natives we have pampered, as an emblem of the possession of freedom and power which the proudest brahmin cannot pretend. to a superior force. The white man dies rather than surrender his. The brahmin cringes and whines and sneaks, and waits till his officer is off his guard to assassinate him. The white man boldly but respectfully asserts his right and generally obtains them. The brahmin after a short career of robbery and rapine gets hanged.—To the former respect is due, the latter can excite only the feelings of hatred and contempt. We are the governing race in this country. We must, for the general safety, insist upon respect being paid to us by the Governed. The native sees no difference between Mr. Halliday and the planter's assistant but the accident of rank. He has seen a Musalchee become a Deputy Magistrate . Rank has been deprived of much of its prestige in this country. If then in the eyes of the native rank is but an accident of no great value, what we have in India most to depend on as insuring respect is the white face. But the planter's assistant's face is as white as Mr. Halliday's.[১১] If Mr. Halliday allows an Upstart Moonsiff to insult a European, as has been done to Mr. Warner, Mr. Halliday may take our word for it that he is blackening his own face. We have reason to think, as will be seen from a letter in aother part of this paper, that Mr. Halliday will not permit these insults to pass unpunished.—This is rather a digression but let it stand.

4.7.1857

CORRESPONDENCE
THE SYLHET PANIC

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS,—

Dear Sir,—My object in writing you this note is, to enable you to correct any fasle rumours that may reach Dacca regarding our little "panic," at Sylhet.

Since to the order for sending marines to Dacca became known here, there has been an indefinite report amongst the natives that

the *Gora log* are coming, and that the two companies of Sepoys here say that they would fight rather than give up their work. That rumour gradually died away, as it became known, that no Europeans were coming.

About the 19th instant a rumour gained currency amongst the Residents here, that, the few Munipooree residents in and about the Station intended attacking the Town on the 23rd during the *Ruth Jattra*. On Sunday the 21st some of the native residents gave notice to the Magistrate to that effect. The Magistrate unfortunately., instead of tracing the bazar rumour at once to its origin, listened to the timid counsels of the P.S. Ameen and the native officers. This led him to arm himself for defence, man boats ready to run away with his family, declare that he and his Police could not defend the Town, to mount guard himself together with a few Europeans who received their impressions from him, night and day up to Tuesday evening, when it became evident that all was nothing but a bazar rumour, originated by his own servants, who had kicked up a row with certain Munipoorees in the streets, a few days before the rumour commenced; and a Hindoo Zemindar who had managed to put a few Munipoorees in prison lately upon doubtful grounds. We have been able to discover no other foundation whatever for the rumour. It was said that a Brahmin and a lad on their way to the Mission Schools had been threatened by some Munipporees, which, upon enquiry, turned out to be only a personal dispute, having no reference whatever to any danger of an attack.

The Sepoys have hitherto shewn no symptoms of disaffection here. We have two companies of the Sylhet Light Infantry; made up partly of Goorkas and Munipoorees; but chiefly of Hindustanies. The Moslem community is decidedly disaffected. We can perceive a quiver of exultation running through the intelligent portion of that community, whenever a report of any new station in the North West having been attacked by the mutineers, reaches them. Should any sepoy disturbance take place here at all, it will undoubtedly, be brought about under Moslem influence: the slightest reverses to British arms in the North West might bring about an outburst of Moslem fanaticism; till then we are safe.

As to the Munipooree"mutiny" or "rebellion," it is the rankest nonsense that ever found place in the brains of man. The poor, inoffensive, semi-savage people have been terribly frightened by the slander raised against them. During the "panic," for it was no loss, on Monday and Tuesday, three fourths of the native inhabitants left the Station to conceal themselves in the neighbouring villages. The judge stood firm in his house, and made no preparation whatever, as if he anticipated any danger. The Missionaries were in the same state on the Mission premises at the other end of the Town. The height of the "Panic" took place, in, and about the Magistrate's house. He poor fellow, was utterly unnerved by the rumours and timid counsels surrounding him. As a man, we can sympathize with him,

for he has a wife and a large family to take care of, and provide for in case of danger: but as a Magistrate, we want a person of better foresight and stronger nerve. In justice to him, however, it is generally reported and belived here that the counsel of Mr. Mackay, the P.S. Ameen led him astray in this instance.

Whenever anything worth communicating occurs here, I shall keep you informed of it.

Sylhet
29th June 1857

Yours truly

11.7.1857

HOW A NATIVE THINKS IT IS TO BE DONE

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS

Sir—May I beg of you to insert the following in your next weekly paper.

The present mutinies of the sepoys and the most barefaced treachery which some of the regiments have deliberately shown, together with the shameless ingratitude with which some of the fanatic native potentates (particularly Mohamedans) are assisting them have probably, as is natural to expect, made our rulers to distrust the natives. It is not strange that the Mussulmans who are easily excited in any thing should do so, but my goodness what led our calculating Hindoos to run madly into dangers in which they are sure to be crushed. Not withstanding all the benefits conferred on our country by the British Government, the natives have acted at this conjunction in a way sufficient to lose their credit in the eyes of their rulers. But our rulers have no reason to distrust the natives of Bengal, they have not shown the least sign of disaffection towards the government. But whatever they might think of the other natives, they may implicitly rely on those who have received an English eduction, and who well known the value of the British government, and who bear mortal hatred to Mohamedan insolence and barbarity, as they have seen them on the pages of history. Their gratitude and their interest too bind them to the present government, for they very, well known, that their glory, however little at may be, and their interest to which they are no less alive than their fathers, are intimately connected with the British government. Even if this government were to be followed by a Hindu one they would have no reason to be glad of it. For, supposing such a thing were to happen, they will be the first persons to be persecuted by our orthodox religionists, who are even now, ready to offer them the greatest possible injury, if they could do it with impunity. Such influence has religion over national character. We are sure as we are sure of any thing in this world, that the British Government in India will not be safe, as long as the prejudices of the people are not dispelled by the diffusion of the learning of the west, as long as the pernicious distinction which separates a Hindu and a Christian is allowed to

exist. Every one who has read English history, knows what a scene of misery England was before the amalgamation of the races, that is of the Celts, Saxons and Normans, took place. And we can predict that India will not be happy, as long as the Hindus, Christians and Mohamedans, the three predominant classes in the country are not incorporated into one body; as long as the interest of the one does not become the interest of the other. This can only be done by an active care on the part of the government to the education of the country. From this time it ought to pay more attention to this department than it has hitherto done; and it ought to encourage education by conferring employments only on those who have rceeived a liberal education.

Dacca
2nd July 1857

Yours faithfully
A student of the
DACCA COLLEGE.

11 7.1857

NOAKHOLLY

To The EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS

Sir,—The mutiny among the Sepoys in the North West and the report of an unfounded panic at Chittagong having created some uneasiness in the minds of the people of Noakhally, some of the principal government officers and landholders had, on the 23rd Ultimo, called a meeting for maintaining the peace of this District. I am now directed to forward herewith a copy of the Resolutions passed by the member, in the hope that you will be pleased to permit them a plan in a corner of your valuable journal.

Noakholly
11th July 1857

Yours faithfully
Gooroo Charn Dass
Secretary.

"The mutiny among the Sepoys in the North West having created some uneasiness in this part of Bengal, and it being deemed essentially necessrary to take measures for maintaining the peace of this district by dispelling the groundless fears and unreasonable anxieties which the said mutiny and an unfounded panic at Chittagong have produced and which are now disturbing the minds of the people; and for the purpose of suppressing all idle talk about the mutiny, a meeting composed of some of the principal Government Officers and land holders of this district has been this day convened."

"It is clear to the members of the meeting that some of the illiterate and ungrateful sepoys in Delhi and Meerut have very unfairly entered into a mutiny from an unressonable apprehension that Government is intending to destroy their caste by compelling

them to certain actions not warranted by Hindu and Mahomedan religious tenets."

"That not a single Rajah, land-holder, merchant, nor subject in India has experessed, nor will ever have any cause to express the slightest mark of discontent against such a salutary and judicious government as that of the English under whom we are enjoying unspeakable happiness and tranquillity."

"That it has never been, nor is, nor even ever will be the British policy to interfere with the religion of the Country they govern, for Government gains nothing by it. Full liberties and indulgence have been always given to the people to perform their religious rites and ceremonies."

"The members are also quite assured that the mutiny in question will be soon suppresssed, the peace of the country restored and the ungrateful wretches visited with severest punishments for their impudent behaviour. The mutineers have no leaders to guide them and they are now flying in terror of the British forces."

"It is therefore resolved."

1st. "That it be the special and ardent duty of the members to convince the people of this District of the unreasonableness of their fears and anxieties in consequence of this mutiny; that they have no discontented sepoys about them, and the Government will, under no circumstances whatever, interfere with the religions of this country.

2nd. "That they be very careful to suppress all idle talk and unfounded rumours connected with the mutiny."

3rd. "That it be inculcated in the mind of the people that the unfavourable reports which now disturb their rest are totally groundless, and more idle talk created by the low-bred, with the motive of obtaining their own ends."

4th. "That all the members be ready according to their respective circumstance to become serviceable to Government when required and that they abide by the instructions and orders of their good, able and valiant magistrate of this District."

5th. "That should it come to the knowledge of the members of this meeting with sufficient proofs that any individual is disquieting the rest of the people with false reports and idle talk connected with the mutiny, they will send immediate notice of it to the Magistrate of this District."

6th. "That a sufficient number of copies of the Vernacular Resolution be forwarded to the Joint Magistrate of this District for circulation through the agency of his Police should he see no objection, and that he be solicited to do the members a favor by submitting a copy of this English Resolution for the information of the Right hon'bel the Governor-General of India in Council."

(Signed)	Kristna Prosaud Surma	(Deputy Collector.)
"	Moulvee Anwar Ally	(Sudder Ameen.)
"	Kristna Kant Roy	(Zemindar and Talookdar.)

(Signed)	Josoda Coomar Paeen	(Suddur Naib of Rajahs Protab Chunder and Issur Chander Sing Zemindars of Perg. Bhullooah &c.)
"	Jodoonath Dutt	(Naib of ditto.)
"	Nilamber Mostobee	(Naib of Bhowanee Churn Zemindar.)
"	Purbutty Churn Roy	(Niab of Gopalpore.)
"	Subur Khan	(Zemindar and Talookdar.)
"	Sudderuddy ...	(Talookdar.)
"	Mozeb Ally ...	(Ditto)
"	Ram Coomar Sein	(Mooktiar of Bhullooah zemindaree.) And others.

Noakhally
23rd June 1857

18.7.1857

DACCA MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE

At a Special meeting of the Municipal Committee held at the Dacca Bank on Tuesday the 14th July 1857 to take into consideration the Commissioner's letter to the Committee dated the 4th Ultimo, as determined by the 5th paragraph of the Proceedings of the Municipal Committee held on the 7th Instant.
Present.—Messrs C.T. DAVIDSON.—C.P. CARNAC.— C. T. HITICHINS. — W. A. GREE.— N. P. POGOSE— —KAJE ABDOOL GUNNY.

1st Proposed by Dr. Green and Seconded by Mr. Forbes that the Secretary be directed to write to the Commissioner that the Committee has no objection to the request of Major Smith being complied with.
Proposed by Mr. Carnac that the Committee consent to give to Major Smith that portion of land in front of his house offered by Messrs Forbes and Mackillop, and that they do also record their opinion that there can be no objection to Major Smith's enclosing as far as originally intended by him waiving all right to the land in either case, and that so far from such an enclosure being an eyesore it will be ornamental to the station. Seconded by Mr. Hitchins.
The ameadment being put the votes were as follows.

For	Against
Kajeh Abdool Gunny	C.T. Davidson Esq.
C.T. Hitchins Esq.	N.P. Pogose Esq.
C.F. Carnac Esq.	W.A. Green Esq.
	A. Forbes Esq.

In consequence of which vote the original proposition was carried.

(Singed) A. FORBES
Hon. Secy. Municipal Committee.

18.7.1857

ADDRESS TO OUR SALILORS

TO THE SEAMEN OF THE DACCA NAVAL BRIGADE-DACCA

Sirs, -We, the students of the Dacca collage, cannot allow you to depart from amongst us without expressing our grateful sense of the valuable services rendered by you to the people of the District.

2nd. Some months previous to your arrival, the people of the district in general and those of the town in paticular were in momentary fear of the two companies of sepoys that were stationed here for the protection of the Treasury. The circumnstances together with the panic of the 12th June 1857, induced the Government of Bengal to locate a competent body of European troops in the town. The choice fell upon you and you have done justice to it.

3rd. Your arrival amongs us is a great measure allayed our fears, and the glorious victory won by you under your able commander, over the Rascally sepoys at the Laul Baugh Battle on the 20th of November last, resorted full confidence in the minds of those for whose protection you had been sent.

4th. Besides, education was at a standstill in those parts of the country in which mutiny and Rebellion were rampant and it gives us pleasure in thinking that your presence enabled us to prosecute our studies without apprehension.

Dacca College
28th July, 1858

We remain,
Sirs,
Yours most obdt. servants
and etc.
Well wishes
The Students of The Dacca Collage

31.7.1857

THE DACCA VOLUNTEERS

At a meeting of the christians inhabitants of Dacca, held in the College on the 30th ultimo for the purpose of forming a volunteer corps.

It was proposed by Mr. Foley, Seconded by Mr Lucas, and carried unanimously that Mr. Forbes take the chair.

The Chairman having in a few words explained the object of the meetting. the following resolutions were passed.

Proposed by F. Tydd Esq. that this meeting address the commisioner, stating their intention to form themselves into a volunteer corps, and requesting his sanction to the measure. Seconded by Mr. Lucas, Carried unanimously.

Proposed by Mr. Foley, that the Volunteer corps be composed of those who may enrol themselves; to be decided into two bodies, consisting of Horse patrols. and the remainder light Infantry, that the former body do not exceed 16 in number, and that they be required to learn the foot exercise, in order to be available as infantry if required. Seconded by Mr. Muspratt; caried unanimously.

Proposed by Mr. Middleton that Major Smith be required to take the Command of the body of Volunteers. Seconded by Mr-H. Bell, Carried unanimously.

Proposed by Mr. Robinson that the members of the corps be requested to bring to the first parade what arms they may possess. in order that a collection may be made. Seconded by Mr. Shircore, Carried unanmimously.

Proposed by Mr. Brennand that absence from parade or other disabedience of order be punishable with fine, not exceeding Rs 10, to be inflicted by the commanding offficer. Any offence which in the opinion of the Commandant merit a severer punishment that the above, to be reinvestigated by a committee of seven of the members, to be chosen by the commandant, which may award a sentence of dismissal. Seconded by Dr. Green. Carried unonimously.

Proposed by Mr. Muspratt that the volunteer Corps be not required to march to a greater distance than two miles in any direction from the treasury. unless with their own consent. Seconded by Mr. Carnegie, Carried unanimously.

Proposed by Mr. Muspratt that a general meetting of the volunteers may be summonded at the requisition of any ten members, Seconded by Mr. Pereira. Carried unanimously.

Proposed by Mr Carnac that a vote of thanks be passed to Mr Forbes, for his able conduct in the chair, Carried by acclamation.

1.৪.1857

Sylhet

All is quiet at sylhet, the wave from the north west has hardly raffled the smooth surface of our wanted tranquility. We have a goodly number of Hindoostanese among the police,. the jamadar is one of the number, he is an expected member of the 38th B.L.I. of Burmah and Delhi notoriety,. By the rule of Lavater he should be put down for a cut throat. No one here, the Magistrate, of course, expected, seems to have the slightest confidence in his loyalty,. but report says. he is an ummedwar, a possible lord of a thannah, an embryo. Commandant of the police of a Pergunnah. Poor pergunnah, Justice turns pale at thy fate.

A number of people from the west have been taken up by the police as suspicious characters. After examination, some have been liberated, some sent to Dacca, where we trust you with your Jacks will be able to keep a sharp look-out after them. They appear under various pretences; mendicants, ummedwars, agents, merchants and etc.

Certain of the sepoys and prisoners are said to have been exchanging mutinious sentiment. But the former despair of being able to escape across Bengal; and feel their isolation; and the latter find that they must make up their minds to put up with their prison chances, chains and fare.

It is said that the 'Faithful' here require watching; they are all alive to the news in circulation amongst themselves, which no one

else here seems to know the source of. It is possible that the post office spread the sparks? The Hindoos are decidedly on the side of Govrnment; nor do they ever hesitate to show their partiality.

July 23rd
1857

1.8.1857

[Volunteers]

Our Volunteers are anxious that they should have a fortification of some sort to defend, and we believe that a position is to be presented to the Commissioner, asking him to give up the college to the sailors for that purpose, and to be a general place of rendezvous in case of disturbance. We would be very much like to the sailors in the college, for a hundred men in the house they have at present is, to say the least of it, a tight fit. And though we do not see the least chance of disturbance here till the rains are over, when Bengal will be full of English Soldiers, we would like to see a fort prepared in case of need. No wise man however fair the weather may appear to be, ever goes at without an umbrella. A fortification would be our umbrella. The sailor have been trying the sailing qualities of their boat during the week. We should like much to see them with their guns on board and all ready for service. So unwarlike have been our pursuitors that we cannot understand how such little boats can carry such heavy guns. We should like to see a shot or two fired from them. Could not Mr. Lewis get up a *tamasha* for us especially as we have two holidays next week.

8.8.1857

[Fortifying the College]

The idea of fortifying the college mentioned us as last week has been given up, in consequence of the very kind offer of Mr. Foley to give up the Mills as a place of rendezvous. We believe that it is determined, if there should be any necessity for such a step, of which we see but little likelihood, that the christian shall assemble there with their families, for all of whom there will be ample accomodation. The situation is naturally a very strung one, and could we believe be put into a state of defence in a night, but it is determined to begin the work of making it still stronger at once. Provisions are to be laid in immediately. Our volunteers both horse and foot are rapidly improving in their drill. Being a perfectly unmilitary individual, we really cannot comprehand how any Bengalee or sepoy could for one moment think of standing before the charge of our cavalry. We are sorry to learn that some of the those who enlisted in the infantry have resigned but as these are all the most worthless individuals in the station, it is perhaps a subject of congratulation to the body in general, that they have withdrawn. When we go into garrison, they will doubtless be useful as cooks and *musalchees*, and in other offices, which though absolutely necessary, are still generally

considered neither agreeable nor honorable...yesterday, which was the first day of the *Junmoostomee* procession a fresrh supply of muskets, bayonets, and fifty rounds of ammunition per man were served out to the volunteers, both infantry and cavalry. The former garrisoned the college during the processions, the later slept at the Billiard rooms all night, from where usual patrols were sent out... The boats have got their guns on board, and we believe we may confidently state, that any mutineers who should attempt to disturb Dacca or the district would meet with a reception which would be far from agreeable, and far from profitabale, for we have no money in the treasury and are doing so good a business generally in hides, linseed and etc. that the bankers have nothing in their chests but bills.

15.8.1857

DACCA NEWS EXTRA
SATURDAY 15th AUGUST 1857

The Defence of Dacca.

From the CHAIRMAN of the late Meeting of the
CHRISTIAN INHABITANTS OF DACCA.
To the COMMISSIONER OF CIRCUIT DACCA
Dated Dacca 12th August 1857.

Sir,—I have been requested by the Christian Inhabitants of Dacca to address you on the advisability of preparing a fortification of some sort, sufficient to accomodate their families, and which they might defend in case of any outbreak in this part of the country.

2 You have already recognised the existence of danger, by authorising the formation of a volunteer corps, and by sanctioning the issue of arms to them. I trust therefore that you will not object to a measure which will tend further to add to our security.

3 You are perhaps aware that a large portion of the Armenian Community left Dacca yesterday for Calcutta. If such desertions of the chief members of society continue, the effect produced upon the wealthy and timid section of the community will be very bad, and the turbulent will be encouraged by seeing their timidity.

4 We believe that all fear would be removed from the breasts of the Christian Community, were a place large enough to contain their families placed in a state of defence.

5 It was at first proposed to apply to you for permission to fortify the College but as Mr. Lewis and the Military men at the station consider a house on the river bank as the most desirable situation, and as Mr. Foley has kindly consented to place the Mills at our disposal in case of necessity, I have the honor to request, that you will take into consideration the propriety for fortifying that house; and if you should give your consent to the measure, that you will place the necessary funds at the disposal of the Executive officer, with instructions to proceed with the work with as little delay as possible.

6. When I had the honor of talking with you on this subject last night, you asked me what case I could make out for spending the public funds on such a work.—I would beg to submit, that if, from want of due precaution, the Christian population were surprised and driven from the city, there would be a likelihood of the Revenue of the district suffering very considerably, besides the amount which might be lost if the Treasury were plundred. The Christians of Dacca have cheerfully given their time and labor as Volunteers and patrols, which have, I believe, in no slight degree contributed to the present quiet the City enjoys. They would too, I have no doubt, contribute their funds towards the public defence, but with the exception of a few individuals, the community is by no means a wealthy one. I trust therefor that you will consider this a case where the public funds may be advantageously spent.

6. I have the honor to forward herewith the original paper circulated upon this subject.

7. The Christian Inhabitants of Dacca will feel, much obliged by your giving an answer to their request as soon as possible, as they think that no time should be lost in commencing the works.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedient Servant
A. FORBES

Chairman of the late meeting of the Christian Inhabitiants of Dacca.

From C. T. DAVIDSON ESQ.
Commissioner Dacca Division

To A. FORBES ESQ.
Chairman of the late Meeting of
the Christian Inhabitants of DACCA.

Dated 13th August 1857, Dhaka.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, on the subject of fortifying the Mills House as a place of refuge, in case of necessity, for the Christian Inhabitants of this City, and requesting me to place the necessary funds at the disposal of the Executive Officer to carry out the work. I have the honor to state that I have no authority to sanction the expenditure of the public money for such a purpose, nor have I such sufficiently strong grounds for apprehending danger as would warrant my acting on my own responsibility. In deference however to the wishes of the large number of Christian Inhabitants whom you represent and who, as you very properly state,"have cheerfully given their time and"labor as Volunteers and Patrols" I will

submit your proposition for the consideration of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

I have the honor to be
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant
C.T. DAVIDSON
Commissioner.

Commissioner's Office
Dacca Division

[Whether Foleys Mill could be Fortified]

Our *extra* of last week informed our readers, that the government had called upon the Executive officer of Dacca to report whether the Mills could be speedily fortified, at a moderate expense. At the sametime the chief Engineer authorized the expenditure of Rs. 300 for the work without further reference. We think a little more liberally with regard to the sum allowed might have been shown, as it would be evident that the efficient fortification of a house capable of holding from 70 to 80 Europeans with their families, in addition to one hundred seamen, would cost rather, more than Rs. 300. However, it is perhaps as well that the work was not left in the hands of those who are hampered with red tape. The funds were advanced by private individuals, and Mr. Foleys energy, together with the able assistance of volunteers both professional and adventurers, have almost completed a very respectable fort, before it was possible for the reply of the Executive officers report to have been received in Dacca, even though that report had been drawn up and the reply given with mercantile despatch. The Mill is large four storied building formerly used for the Manufacture of sugar, but converted by it's present owner Mr. Foley partly into a duelling house, partly in to godowns for the articles of country produce in which he deals. The godowns are at this season empty and form capital barracks. The building has been surrounded by a ditch of twelve feet in breadth, the earth from which has been thrown up into a rampart of about eight feet in height. The only entrance is by a drawbridge at the north east corner. Out side the ditch is a thick *cheavaux de frisse* of bamboo in the Burmese style, which Lt. Lewis, a Burmese war hero, showed us how to construct. The place is impregnable to any force without cannon, and we have no reason to suppose that any force with guns will move against us...

29.8.1857

MUTINY AT DACCA—DISARMING OF THE MUTINEERS—RE-ARMING AND RESTORATION OF CONFIDENCE—

On Thursday morning the *Haringatta* arrived here, having on board a hundred men proceeding to restore confidence in Assam. Fifty of these we belive were sea men enlisted for general service, and fifty were of that body of police which is called in Calcutta"Wanchopes Own." On their arrival here the latter gentlemen declared that they had been engaged in Calcutta for service in Dacca,

and refused to proceed any farther. Lt. Lewis however appeared on the scene with a party of his men, with loaded guns and fixed bayonets, when they were conveyed to the Black Hole in the Barracks, and the triangles were rigged...

19.9.1857

THE DACCA INFANTRY VOLUNTEERS

DINNER—The dinner given by the Dacca Infantry Volunteers to the Cavalry and the station came off on the evening of Monday the 9th at Mr. Brennand's house, which he had kindly given up for the occasion. The absence of Mr. Davidson, the Commissioner and the representative of Government, was to be regretted, because he thus missed an opportunity of seeing the Volunteers together, a sight which he has never yet seen, though they drill thrice a week. Mr. Thomson the Superintending Surgeon, Mr. Abercrombie the Judge, and Mr. Winchester the clergyman, were unavoidably prevented from attending. The elite of the society of Dacca was fully represented among the guests by their almost universal presence. The dinner reflected the very highest credit upon Mr. Manook and the Volunteers who assisted him. We have seldom seen a dinner, even at a private house, which was so good in every respect. This last crowning act is only one among the many which entitle Mr. Manook to take a very high place among the Infantry Volunteers. The chair was taken by Major Smith the Commandant of the Volunteers at 7 precisely. After dinner the following toasts were given by the Chairman: The Queen,, The Prince Consort and the Royal Family, The Governor General and the Government of India, The Army, in proposing which Major Smith said,

We Volunteers, gentlemen, consider ourselves Military, but still I, think we are so far separate from the Regulars, that it will not be suspected that we are paying a sly compliment to ourselves when my toast shall be known. I see among our guests jackets both red and blue, and right glad. I am to see them as guests at our board. I begin with the red and give you, gentlemen,"the Army."

LIEUT. DOWELL said: Gentlemen, I rise to return thanks for the toast that has been just drunk, because, although I am not the senior officer present, I believe I am the senior unconnected with the volunteers. The Bengal army has to a great extent ceased to exist; but the European officers of that army are still amongst us, and no one will venture to attribute the late disasters to any neglect of duty on their part.

THE CHAIRMAN next rose and said, as we have drunk the Army we must now drink the sister service the Navy. I am really sorry for their own sakes that since they came amongst us they have seen no fun in the fighting line but I sincerely congratulate the residents that their services have not been required; but sure enough had they been called upon to act, their would have been some radical reform; among our native friends. Allow me, gentlemen, to propose the"Navy and our brave defenders in Dacca."

Mr. CONNER in responding to the toast said: In returning my thanks for the very hearty toast to the Navy, I must say that there is not a man among us who does not regret that no opportunity has offered for distinguishing ourselves in the field, and showing the natives how British seamen fight in defence of their countrymen and countrywomen. However, we take comfort from the thought that our presence has allayed the apprehensions of the Ladies of Dacca and afforded them protection. I rejoice to know that in these critical times the Navy has not been inactive, and I have no doubt we shall soon hear of honors won by Capt. Peel and his naval brigade, though for our party in Dacca there appears little hope of such distinction. We are here without our ships, like fishes out of water. Indeed we are altogether non-descript animals, who cannot live on dry land and who die the moment they are put in the water.

THE CHAIRMAN next said: I would, gentlemen, that some more inspired individual than myself were your chairman, and could bring before your mind's eye the noble deeds done but yesterday in the far North West, and against such fearful odds; done too when their difficulty and danger was rendered the greater, by the discovery on the very eve of action that our own forces, the very forces by which we were about to attack traitors were themeselves traitorous, and our bitterest enemies were in our own ranks. But in spite of overwhelming odds and unheard of treachery, the gallant Wilson and our brave legions have stormed taken and I trust destoryed Delhi. If it be ever rebuilt, I trust it will receive an English name. In India we go sadly in the opposite drection to that taken by our American brethren and other Anglo-Saxon colonists, who never lose sight of old associations. We Anglo-Indians seem simply to hold India until the Moslem or Hindoo think they are strong enough to take it back again. Gentlemen, I propose the health of the Delhi stormers and General Wilson.

LIEUT. DOWELL in returning thanks said: I have the honor of belonging to the same regiment as General Wilson. He was not in Meerut at the time the mutiny broke out, but very soon hastened to the spot. and taking command of the forces at Meerut, distinguished himself as you are aware, in the battles of Gazeeoodeen Nuggur, and from that time he rose step by step until he received chief command of the army before Delhi. How nobly and well that army has done its work, you know. May General Wilson and the Dellhi Stormers live long to enjoy the distinguished honors they have reaped.—But whilst we rejoice in their success, let us not forget the names of the gallant dead. I beg to propose as a toast, the memories of Sir Henry Lawrence, Brigadier Wheeler, General Neill, and General Nicholson.—Drunk in solemn silence.

MR. MUSPRATT then rose and said:—Gentlemen, —I rise to propose the health of one who holds the prominent position of ruler of a considerable part of India —that part too with which we have most to do: I mean the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. His acts, affecting as they do most of us, are liable to much criticism,

especially when we imagine ourselves injured, or that we ourselves could have done the same thing much more cleverly and better than he has done, but this is the common fate of all who are raised above their fellow men. We have nothing to do with criticism to-night. We wish to look on the bright side of things, and we hope the most desperate radical here will allow the Lieutenant Governor to have a bright side, even though, in his estimation, it be but a little one.—We must remember that it is to him that we owe our existence as a body, and we fully recognise the cordiality with which the offer of our services was accepted by him. Our being a body has enabled us to have the pleasure of seeing so many of our friends here to night.—Although the Lieutenant Governor's districts have not been distrubed, and there has been no call on him to show what they can do in difficulties, still we must acknowledge that it is to his unwearied labors, and his having made the best of the very inadequate means at his disposal, that we owe in a very considerablye degree that peace which we now enjoy. It is the duty of every Englishman at the present time to do all in his power to restore peace to India, and to preserve it in those districts which have not been disturbed; and we may be sure that Mr. Halliday has been laboring not less zealously than even the hardest working of ourselves for this end. We have not seen all that he has done and is doing, but we see some of the result. In the first place we see that peace has been preserved. This must have been done by a judicious selection of officers for various posts, placing each one where his peculiar talents and dispostion were most useful. Then, almost daily instructions must have been issued to those officers, in reply to numerous references made on every conceivable subject, under almost every conceivable combination of circumstances and these instructions must have been wise and judicious, for the result has been Peace. But there were not only communications from public officers to be attended to, but letters and suggestions for private individuals.I have reason to believe that these were all attended to; what was good adopted, and the bookish ones answered according to their folly; and all this has been well done for the result is still Peace.—Mr. Halliday has acted boldly as well. He has carried out in practice what has been long a favorite theory with himself and some others, but which experienced much opposition from many in his own service and from almost all the natives. He has enlisted for Government the honorary services of Indigo Planters and others as assistant magistrates. He has thus done much to remove the old name. of"Interloper." for he can no longer be called an Interloper whose time and labor is employed by the Government of the country. His service are required by the Government, and no one can now say to him"What are you doing here? Nobody wants you here." This is a measure calculated to attach to Government those, who used to think themselves treated as outcasts, and who used therefore to find that every thing that was done by Government was bad.—If the secrecy system which our friend of the DACCA NEWS so much

condemns were done away with, I have no doubt we should find that Mr. Halliday deserves our thanks for very much more than the few measures I have mentioned. All Mr. Halliday's published minutes show him to be a zealous refomer of abuses, and as such I am sure you will all join me in the toast I propose, Mr. Halliday the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

MAJOR SMITH said:—As Chairman of the Infantry Volunteers I come forward again to propose the health of the Bengal Civil Service. I do so with sincerity, because in the midst of our warlike preparations we must not forget those who have held the chief part of the adminstration, and to whose wise influence and practical experience we owe the security we have enjoyed in this part of the land. It is all very well to have our muskets properly oiled and cleaned, and our weapons in readiness, but we must not overlook the obiligations we owe to the Civil Service, nor forget that it is they who have, by their foresight and oiliness of deportment, kept society from bursting and involving us all in its ruin. In Dacca, we have had men amongst us who have done good service not only in this way, but by patrolling the town at night, and lending heart and hand to every measure that appeared necessary for our safety.—I propose, gentlemen the Bengal Civil Service.

MR. PEARSON replied as follows:—In returning thanks for the honor you have this night done the Service of which I am proud of being a member, I feel it very difficult to address you without singing our own praise or, as would have been said in olden times, making an apology for the Service. The honor you have done us is high, and would at any time have been appreciated; but at the present it is peculiarly gratifying. However high individuals of the service may stand in the estimation of the public we are I fear not popular as a body. Indeed a certain society in Lower Bengal have charged us as being the cause of the present rebellion. I was in correspondence the other day with a member of the Association who wrote to me thus:— "Your Service is doomed. Why do not you—why do not the intelligent thinking men of your service put youselves at the head of the movement, by coming yourselves forward and praying that the service be thrown open?" I rather stared at this and asked my friend what he meant how much wider open the service could be thrown than it has already been. when any one of any nation or caste is eligible if he can but pass the examination."If by throwing open the service you mean doing away with it altogether, if you mean, let there be no regular service, but take any smartish stirring fellow long resident in the Mofussil and hence qualified to hold any appointment (which by the way is a piece of precisely the same arrogance and self-conceit that you charge us with)-take me I say, and without giving me any previous training make me a commissioner of Division—if that is what you mean say so honestly, and I think not only we but your friends will class you with M. Proudhon, the upshot of whose maxim"la propriete c'est le rei," turned out to be that M. Proudhon was to get everything and nobody else anything at all; but,

I said, if you dont mean that, if you allow as I think you must that there must be a regularly trained service, I shall fell obliged by your informing me what better provision could be made for securing efficient officers than has already been made by the new regime in which the only qualifications required are character and talent, the examinations being so strict as to exclude all but men of talent." My friend has not replied, and I think that if we were summarily disposed of and our places filled by that, according to some, universal panacea—Calcutta Barristers, the country would soon wish us back.

I point with pride to the civil service in the Upper Provinces, and to their conduct during the present disturbances. In that conduct they have illustrated the truth of the observation lately made by one of our body, that the Civil Service constituted the hidden rivets that kept society together and preserved the country from total anarchy.But I detect myself in singing our own praises, a thing I had determined not to do. I crave your indulgence: and indeed when I consider the sincere good feeling which exists between ourselves and the rest of your society, and when I think of the kind and cordial manner in which you have drank our health, I think that there is no occasion for me to say anything more, and I am certain that you all possess to the fullest extent that innate respect for the institutions of your country which is so peculiarly the characteristic of Englishmen. Once more gentlemen I thank you in the name of my brethren for the honor you have done us.—It is now my pleasing duty to propose the health of our gallant entertainars the Infantry Volunteers and Major Smith. To this gallant officer's untiring energy is due to the high state of efficiency to which the corps has attained, and to the public spirit which induced the members of the corps to enroll themselves and undergo the fatigue of drill, guard mounting &c, often at great personal inconvenience, we may in a great measure attribute the peace and tranquillity which has reigned in our city, and hence in all Eastern Bengal through out these troublous times. I give Major Smith and the Infantry Volunteers; may they never have to fire anything more destructive than a feu de joie, and may they all continue to have what my friend on the left visibly has, and what I doubt not they all really have, a soul above buttons. Together with their healths I must beg to propose that of their able supporters the cavalry, now alas! scattered to the four winds of heaven, but to whom we are indebted in no small degree for the share they have taken in the laborious duty of guarding the city in these times. With them I would couple the name of Lieutenant Hitchins their gallant commandant.

MAJOR SMITH in responding said, I am proud of the honor of being in command of the Infantry Volunteers. They have cheerfully undergone the inconvenience and fatigue incident to learning their drill. In putting them in the way of rendering successful service in case of an emergency, I have not worked alone. No small share of the thanks is due to Mr. Harris, and to Mr. Kally who I regret has not been

able to join us on the present occasion, both of whom have materially aided me. To-morrow or next day, I go to hunt a more intractable animal than Dacca Volunteers, and must for a time resign my command. Mr. Pearson, in the name of the Volunteers I return thanks for the honor you have done us. May the same cordiality between all of us always exist as exists now.

LIEUTENANT HITCHINS: I have not come here to-night as a volunteer, though I hesitate not to say that had it been necessary, I would have been proud to wear the uniform. The Cavalry are not very efficient; but I have no doubt that had we been called out we should have been found rough and ready for any work, and should have been delighted to join our gallant hosts.

LIEUTENANT DOWELL, begged to propose in Major Smith's name, that during his temporary absence Mr. Harris be requested to take command of the Dacca Volunteer Infantry.

MAJOR SMITH said: Celebrated actors have often been indulged in more than one last appearance. I rise therefore to beg your indulgence for one more toast which I ought to have included in my last, but my feelings overpowered me. Among the many good effects that have resulted from volunteering, not the least important has been, the bringing together of many who were quite unknown to each other before, the gathering together of the scattered elements of strength, and that banding together like Englishmen which, more than any thing else, promotes a strong feeling of mutual sympathy. This good result and that Dacca ever had Volunteers at all is owing in no small measure, to Mr. Forbes our Powder Monkey, whom, for his efficient services, we now promote to the rank of Quarter Master of the Infantry Volunteers.

MR. FORBES: I beg to return my thanks for the cordial manner in which you have drunk my health. It has been more pleasing to me as it was altogether unexpected. I turn now to a more agreeable duty.—As we are all friends here to-night, as the enemy has been as carefully excluded from our meeting as she is from mount Athos, where even the very hens are driven from the Mountain if they are not cocks, and the ducks are murdered if they are not drakes—trusting gentlemen that there are no traitors in the camp,—I dont care to mention, that, whatever I may say elsewhere, I consider Woman to be the nobler sex, and I am sure that all here who are good husbands will agree with me. How would they get on I should like to know if their wives were to leave them to themselves. We have an old Scotch song which describes how a wife, on her husband's grumbling that he had all the hard work while she stayed at home at ease, offered to change with him. She took out the plough and did a good day's work on returning at night she found the poor husband in a sad plight. The children had tumbled into the fire and burned themselves, the dog had worried the geese, the oat cake had caught fire and set fire to the chimney, which had burned down half the house, and the husband was more than half dead with fatgue and vexation. The woman could

do the man's work, but the man could not do the woman's. Married men confess that the woman is the better half. Bachelors will do so when they get married. As for a man who intends dying a bachelor I hope there are none such here. If there are, all I can say is that I pity and despise them and dont speak to them.

It may not be theologically correct to say so, but I think the assertion that the chief end of Man is Woman, is one which will not rashly be denied. Just look at a man's life. In infancy his whole aim is to please his mother. In hobbledehboyhood, though he is a despiser of the sex by profession, still there is a little girl in some neighboring boarding school that he would willingly thrash half a dozen boys for. In youth what mean all these brushings and oilings, and perfumings? Not surely to be admired of men? After marriage we have high authority for saying that a man's aim is to please his wife, and when he grows old his daughter. Sons are kicked out into the world to rough it for themselves. No man pities his son who may be driving a cart or breaking stones on the road in Australia, so long as he is doing well and making money. But for his daughter every exertion must be made,

"That he might not beateen the winds of Heaven
Visit her face too roughly."

All man's strivings and efforts have woman as their aim. He tries to earn money enough to marry, to become"settled" in life. You see he considers himself unsettled until woman joins him. I think I am right then in saying that the chief end of man is Woman.

We are forced to drink public toasts first, but whenever we are relieved from routine, how quickly do we turn our thoughts to the Ladies. This is always the toast drunk with the best will.

The ladies in India have well deserved all we can say of them. During the present distresses how nobly have they not behaved! We hear a lady scream at a mouse, but that is when there is no real danger or difficulty. She is supposed by some wicked people to do so in order to have an opportunity of throwing herself into a pretty attitude, or to hint to the gentlemen that they are not attentive enough to her. But in the real difficulties they have been lately surrounded with, have we heard of the most tenderly nurtured girl complaining? No! but we have had such girls as Miss Wheeler, who so revenged her injured honor that she saved that of all the poor women at Cawnpore: for the natives were, after her deed, afraid to be left alone even with a European girl. We have such women as Mrs. Skene, only 21 years of age, who at Jhansi loaded her husband's guns for him as long as there was any hope, and when that failed, smilingly received his last kiss, and that death from his hand which was far preferable to her than dishonor.--It might be thought that our timid women would wish to run away to a place of safety. We have not found it so. We have found husbands and fathers anxious to place them in safety, but we have heard of much resistance to separation, and in many cases they have prevailed. We have found no cowardice among our women. They have nobly upheld the name of

Englishwomen. Our own ladies have excited the admiration not only of a local poet, who has celebrated them as the"plucky ladies of Dacca," but of many in Calcutta. Not one of them left us during our time of danger.

Gentlemen I need not say more in asking you to drink the health of"the Ladies," with nine times nine.

MR CARNAC then said:—The honor of proposing the next toast has fallen to me, though after the eloquent speeches we have heard, I could have wished that the duty had been entrusted to some one better able to do justice to the meritorious body whose health I am about to propose. My theme is in some sort connected with education. I cannot say too much about education; indeed where would the fine speches we have heard to-night have been without it. It is this that has given them that oiliness so happily alluded to by our worthy Chairman. The rebellion has seriously retarded the progress of education in the Upper Provinces. I do not believe there is a single College or school in those parts which is open just now. And even in Calcutta, the daily arrival of troops from England has made it necessary that the educational buildings should be given up for their accomodation. Here in Dacca, the work of education has I am happy to say, remained uninterupted, a state of things that we owe, in no small degree, to our sailors and volunteers—But after all the efforts that have been made to teach the natives to estimate the advantages of an English education, what has been the result? Many have learnt its value and have been trained to appreciate the higher sphere of being to which it introduces the mind. On the other hand, the present rebellion has afforded painful evidenace that signal failure has mingled with our success. How has that miscreant the Nana Saheb profited by an English Education?How has he benefited by English Society? What elevation of nature or sentiment has he experienced from the study of English books and literature? The massacre of Cawnpore furnishes us with an answer. His appreciation of the advantages he enjoyed was shown in the murder of our countrymen, of our innocent country-women and their helpless babes! But I must not go on in this strain for fear of trespassing upon your time. I do not wish to be understood as proposing to hurl death and destruction against the cause of education. My only object was to express a regret in which I am sure you all share, that we would have been obliged to witness so awful an instance of human perversity, an instance the like of which I hope for the honor of our common nature, may never again appear in the records of crime.—Gentlemen. I propose that we drink to the health of the Principal and Professors of the Dacca College, who in addition to the ardous duties of their office, have cheerfully come forward to share in the defence of this city, and are foremost in the ranks of the Dacca Volunteers. It is their work to let the light of knowledge into the minds of the natives; but I have no doubt, that if stern duty required it, they would, with equal success, let the light of day into

their bodies. I cannot conclude without tendering the thanks of the comunity to the Principal in particular who was foremost in the offer of his services as a Volunteer, and who, I may add, is the best shot of all his brethren in arms.

MR. BRENNAND said in reply:—Gentlemen, You must allow me to return thanks for myself and my Colleagues not as Professors of the College, but as Volunteers. In this character we do not claim to have done more than our duty nor more than has been done by most of those who compose the Volunteer corps. It is counted an honor to be among the foremost to fight in the cause of one's country, and it would have ill become of us as Englishmen to have held back in the support of order, when our country women and their children were exposed to the greatest dangers. That dangers were real I firmly believe, and we shall have benefited but little by the awful experience of our disaster in the North West, if we allow ourselve to become supine, and to relapse into a state of fancied security because danger is not now so apparent.—It is no sign of weakness that we acknowledge by our warlike demonstrations the existence of danger. But it is a sign that whatever be that danger, and from whatever quarter it may come, we intend to be in some measure prepared for it, and if it cannot be evaded, to most in with firmness. And who can say that this danger has not been averted from us altogether by the steps taken to preserve order, by the vigilance of the Magistrate and of the Cavalry Volunteers, by the salutary awe inspired by the seamen, and by the certainty that every man among us is armed. The fanaticism of the sepoy is strongly seasoned with cowardice. He has given ample testimony of the respect in which he holds the bravery of our countrymen by the dastardly manner in which his attacks have been made on them. The fiendish frenzy with which he exulted over the temporary prostration of our power, is a confession of the strength of that pervading influence, the authority which he had hitherto worshipped.—In the midst of all the calamities that have befallen us it makes us feel proud of our countrymen when we hear of the many deeds of heroism they have performed, examples of bravery that will be handed down in history for the admiration of posterity, feast of chivalry that will bear comparison with the most renowned exploits of antiquity. Our nation has cause to be proud of her sons and she will not be tardy in acknowledging her pride.—Already the Press, the agency through which these deeds have become known, has conveyed to our English homes records of acts of valour that excite the enthusiasm of our brethren and the admiration of all Europe.— And shall we ignore the services of the Press because it is now under a cloud? Were we to do this, we should, like the treacherous and cowardly sepoy, be rendering evil for good. To the Press we owe it that all England is aroused to a sense of our danger, that England even while weeping over the sufferings of her bleeding offspring, declares that no mercy shall be shown to the horders of sepoy murderers.—In this, one of the nooks of the world, we could with difficulty exist under the dust and the cobwebs of time, prejudice,

ignorance, superstition and fanaticism, were it not for the Press.—The Press is a great coadjutor in the cause of education.As a great public teacher it is incessantly impressing its lessons on the public mind. Can we believe that the public is not the better for those lessons, lessons on the history of humanity.—It may sometimes have prostituted it services to the advancement of Political intrigue or to aid in some objectionable design, but it would be a poor compliment to the intelligence of our countrymen, if such practices could be long carried on with success.—As the professed servant of the Public, it has assumed the office of watching over all interests connected with the general welfare. As the medium for the expression of public opinion, it has exercised a mighty influence over the destinies of our empire.—But I should be greatly wanting in respect to your judgment were I to enumerate all the advantages we derive from the possession of the Press. I shall only detain you to propose the Press and its worthy representative in Dacca.

MR. FORBES rose and said:—Gentlemen, A facetious friend advised me to return thanks for the toast just drunk, by simply stating that being Gagged, I could not be expected to speak. I could not adopt this advice, for the simple reason that I am not in reality gagged, and never felt that I say so. When the unfortunate Press Act was passed, the rule I laid down for my own guidance was to go on as if the law had no existence. It is a law that no man had a right to make. It is a law which declared me to be a seditious traitor to Britain, and more than that—a madman; for if I had done or would do any thing to further any cause but that of Britain, I should be working as hard as possible to cut my own throat.—I trust that I have been able to write as I would have done though there had been no Gagging Act,. Although I must confess to having perceived a vein of irritation, when speaking of public men, running through my writings, which was not there before. But I will leave the Gagging Act and say a few words about myself in Dacca. Most of you remember the birth of the DACCA NEWS, what a little thing it was—it is not very big now, though it is more than a year and a half old. It had some hard fights to go through in its infancy, diseases which threatened to carry it off—a sort of Literary Measles and Hooping Cough. It was threatened with two or three actions for libel, it received mysterious warnings from men in high places even before the passing of Gagging Act when it caught a real pucka warning, which might be liken to an attack of small pox or jungle fever in comparison with the diseases of its childhood, but it managed to survive it all—I fully recognise the great power that is welded by the Press. I consider that the office that I have taken upon me is a most important one, and that if I lend that office to the furtherance of any unworthy views or ends, I shall be guilty of a great crime both before God and Man.—I have long held the opinion that to discover and publish truth, on whatever subject--whether it be the truth about the number of stomachs possessed by an animalcule, or the stupendous truths of Astronomy, or the mysterious truths of religion—I say the discovery,

and publishing as soon as discovered, of truth, can never be attended with disadvantage or danger. I have always made truth my aim in the DACCA NEWS. I have been mistaken, I have been wrong, I have published what was not true, but not intentionally. I think that I have been the means of doing some good. I trust I have not done much harm. It is wonderful how the truth carries a man through. When you have told the truth you are quite comfortable: you have to take no thought for the morrow. But if you tell a lie, you have to spend to-day in inventing more lies, the consequence of the first one, to be told tomorrow.—I have always tried to avoid hurting the feelings of any one. I have attacked, in good strong language to, the public acts of many a man. I trust I have never muddled with the sanctity of Private life.—The consequence of a steady adherence to those two rules is, I am happy to say, that I have made many friends. I do not know that I have made any enemies. I am almost certain that I have no enemies here. I have always fought fairly. I have gone before a man and hit him in the face. I have not sneaked up behind and stabbed him in the back. It would not be English to hate a man who fights fairly. It is for this reason I think I have no enemies.—I have been praising myself gentleman, because I wish to take advantage of this opportunity of telling you the principles by which I have been actuated in my career as a journalist. I think I have a right to declare those principles, for the DACCA NEWS has, even in these troublous times, when the daks of so great a part of India are closed, a circulation of nearly 400 copies.—You may gentlemen, be my enemies at heart, but if you are capital dissemblers, for I have not the least suspicion of any one here; and the kind way in which you have drunk my health may be false, but if so, it is a capital imitation of the real.

MR. FORBES again rose and said·—I dont know Gentlemen whether it is a misfortune when he is supplied with a good deal of it, nor does he consider the man who gives him it, or puts him in the way of getting it, an enemy. Nay, so perverted are we, that we are in the habit of considering such a one as a benefactor, and giving him our honor and our praise, even though he should overwhelm us with the"root of all evil."—One who has done more than most of us to increase the wealth of Dacca is Mr. William Foley. He was one of the first to come amongst us for the purpose of engaging solely in commercial pursuits. There had been gentlemen long settled in the district as Indigo planters, men to whom Dacca owes much, for they, especially Messrs Lamb and Wise, had done much in introducing new crops, machinery &c, and though much which they attempted failed, simply because two men could not do every thing, and watch over every thing, and be in every place at once; still much remained, and added to the wealth and resources of the district. But they were land owners and engaged chiefly in the cultivation of the soil. Mr. Foley was, I believe, the first who came here to do simple commercial business unconnected with land or Indigo; at any rate he was the first who engaged in it on a large scale. He has been followed by others, and the result is a good deal more of the root of evil being

added to us than we had before.—This commerce is a great magician. She has worked great wonders even in the short nine years I have known Dacca. One of the most remarkably visible effects he has produced is the causing the old palquee to be superseded by wheeled carriages from the lordly barouche of the wealthy baboo, with its four lamps, down to the jingling fabric of rope, bamboos and old iron of the horse breaker which once was a buggy, but now is licensed to carry not less than six at once.—But wealth has penetrated the cottages of the poorer classes, and so it ought to have done, for boat hire has doubled within the last 4 years, and the wages of labour increased 35 percent during the same period I was talking with an old Hindoo the other day—a very orthodox old gentleman, and by no means an admirer of English innovations. Even he acknowledged that the cottage of the ryot presents a very different interior from what it did some ten years ago. Those who could afford to eat but once a day, have now their two meals regularly, and fish three or four times a week instead of once. Their plates and dishes are now of brass or copper, instead of earthen ware or more plantain leaves. Those who used to dine in the dark, can now afford oil for a lamp. The ploughing cattle are increasing in number, and the jungle is falling fast; and all this is the effect of the coming of such men as Mr. Foley, who have raised the price of Jute from 5 annas a maund to Rs. 2.5, and have trebled or quadrupled the prices of almost every article of produce while they have"developed" others such as hides, which were not exported before. There is still room for twenty Mr. Foleys more, and I only wish we had them and that they all dealt with the Dacca Bank.

But Mr. Foley, besides being a benefactor of mankind in general by planting the Root of all Evil amongst us, and watering it and causing it to flourish, so that it is growing up into a stately tree, deserves more particularly the thanks of the Christian Community of Dacca for the handsome way in which he placed his house at their disposal to be converted into a Fort. This was but of a piece with Mr. Foley's usual hospitable acts. It was no"breaking out in a new place" with him. But we are not to refrain from thanking him because Mr. Foley acted only as he usually does.—I have great pleasure Gentlemen in proposing the Commercial Interests of Dacca, coupled with the name of Mr. Foley both as a merchant and a Volunteer, in both of which capacities he has served well of his country all of us.

LIEUT. MCMULLIN proposed the health of Mr. Harris who succeeds Major Smith in command of the Infantry Volunteers.

MR HARRIS: Gentlemen:—You have taken me quite by surprise, For the unexpected honor which you have done me in drinking my health, I beg to return you my best and most cordial thanks. Our worthy Major has been good enough to propose me as a fitting individual to officiate as commandant for him during his absence from the station; and for his good opinion of me I am very thankful; but it is not only necessary gentlemen, to be proposed, before I can succeed to so high an honor, but that you Volunteers, particularly,

should be disposed to elect me as your commander,—for it is yours not only to propose, and dispose, but to depose too. I can only say, should you be inclined to raise in; at one bound, from the ranks to the prominent position of leader, I will do my utmost to perform my duty towards the corps, and I confidently hope while seconded by your usual zealous efforts, that our gallant commandant, on his return, will not have occasion to think that the Dacca Volunteer Infantry have in any one respect deteriorated from the high degree of steadiness and discipline which now so eminently characterizes, and does them, individually and collectively, so much honor. Before I take my seat, I again beg to thank you, most sincerely, for the honor you have done me.

The next toast which was"The Interests of Science and the Dacca Museum" was received with great cheers, chiefly because it was coupled with the name of Dr. Green.

DR GRREN:—In rising to return thanks for the toast you have so kindly drunk, I beg to disclaim all pretensions to stand here as the representative of Science. I see around me some who are able to speak deeply on the subject which I certainly am not. I allude more particularly to one gentleman, (Mr. Brenand) one of our noble Volunteer Corps, who is able to gauge the skies measure the Sun and Moon, and with equal profoundity I have no doubt fathom the Ocean depths. In coupling the Dacca Museum with the other part of the toast, you have done much honor to Mr. S. Robinson and myself, and have touched a chord which vibrates with thrilling interest. In our scheme of the Dacca Museum we are following out, although at an immense distance, and on a miniature scale, the grand project now carrying out at the India House, of collecting together all the productions. of this vast country, Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral and shewing the purposes to which these may be supplied in the arts and every day concerns of life. We have already made some little progress toward our object, and we beg of you to come and see what we have accomplished. We can shew you the warlike weapons of the Hill tribes of Upper Assam, of the Cossayah and Tipperah Hills, their coarse manufactures of cloth, some of which, however, in their decorative design and colouring exhibit considerable taste and ingenuity. We can shew you specimens of the mineral wealth of these districts, of coal, ironstone, pertroleum, and of limestone now forming the mountain top, once forming the bottom of ancient seas, and thickly embedded with marine fossil shells. We can shew you beautiful fibres of the leaf, the stem, and dried pulp or husk, of the fruit of a variety of plants, many of them little regarded common inhabitants of the jungle. To mention some. for instance the dried husk of the Cocoanut fruit, the fibres of which twisted into a cable hold fast the ship riding out the storm. We can shew you delicate fibres of a common despised jungle plant, capable of being converted into a fabric equalling in texture the far famed grasscloth; fibres again of such strength and fineness that when used as bow strings these elicit most charming notes. We can shew you skeletons of the

Boa Constrictor, of the much dreaded Saurian tribe, of the shark. We are advancing in our collections of natural History. We can shew you numberless vegetable productions. In short gentlemen, we beg of you to come and see our Museum; and hope for your interest and support in every way. I again return you many thanks.

LIEUT. DOWELL proposed the health of Mr. Samuel Robinson the Secretary to the Museum.

Mr. Rohinson returned thanks.

Some beautiful songs were then exquisitely sung, and after "Auld Lang Syne" "by the full strength of the company" the guests separated about half past twelve.

14.11.1857

[Editorial]

We must apologise for our want of editorial matter this week, but we have had so much military duty to do, that we have been forced to neglect our paper, thirty three hours of duty on a stretch, especially when one is laden with unaccustomed revolvers and ammunition, is not favorable to the production of editorial effusions. We say nothing of parades twice a day. We might manage to get an even in spite of them.

It may be as well to remind much of subscribers as are land holders, and to beg them to remind their friends again of the fact, that any one harboring or assisting rebels and traitors or mutineers, renders himself liable to confiscation of his property; and on the other hand, those who catch and deliver up to the police escaped mutineer, or to give information where he is, or who in any way assists him in his escape, is as guilty of mutiny as the man himself, and must expect severe punishment. It will not do to plead fear, or to say that the fugitive was a strong man, and that he speakes in a weak Bengalee who could not struggle with him. He can at least run towards the nearest thannah and give information.When he has done so he has cleared himself from all blame. If not he is liable to punishment and has failed in his duty to the state. We would be sorry to think that there are disloyal persons in Dacca, but if there are not, how was it that the collectory Guard passed through the most populous part of the town with such ease and safety ?

28.11.1857

CORRESPONDENCE
THE BUDMASHES OF DACCA

Our judicious magistrate ought to take a particular notice of the nefarious habits of the khootees or Musselmen of very low birth, they are a very tyrannical race and men of improper and loose conduct

which requires a great restraint upon it. The Budmashes whom we are often speaking of greatly from this class of men who in their manhood become wither Dungeers of gamesters and consequently theives.

Many of the khootes residing in Kulta bazar, Narinda and Bungsal have been found several times engaged in rape when a women happens to pass by any unfrequented lane, on even by a public road, when they attack in a large company..

Your most obedient servent
A SPECTATOR

28.11.1957

OUR BATTLE

On Saturday afternoon an express was received from Chittagong, stating that the companies of the 34th stationed there mutinied on the night of the 18th instant, and plundered the treasury of about 3 lakhs of rupees, set the prisoners free, blown up their magazine, burned their lines, killed one native a burkindaz, and after giving liberally of their plunder to the mosques and fakeers departed with the blessings of the latter exclaiming,"We have attained our utmost wish, but have not succeeded in killing the Feringhee dogs." It seems that they went to the houses of the civilians for that purpose, but luckily did not find them. Having place their plunder upon elephants, it seems they were afraid to take the main road to Tipperah, apprehensive of being intercepted at the crossing of the Fenny. It is believed that they have gone by the hill path towards Sylhet. On receipt of this intelligence in Dacca, it was resolved at ten o'clock on Saturday night to disarm the Sepoys here amounting, with 26 Artilerymen, to about 260 men. The Volunteers were, during the night, warned to assemble at the Bank from whence they were to march to the Collector............ the Collectory guard where disarmed. A little before five the sailors with their two mountain howitzers, under command of Lieutenant Lewis, and accompanied by Messrs Carnac, Bainbridge, Hitchins, Macpherson, Dr. Green, and the Reverend Mr. Winchester, marched to the Collectory Gaurd which they disarmed without resistance. The executive officer's guard was soon after marched in without their arms by Lieutenant Rynd, and the whole remained in charge of the Volunteers. Soon after very heavy firing was heard in the direction of the Lall Bagh and the alarm was given that the men were escaping by one back windows in the room in which they were. Unluckily their officer was at that moment absent from them, having gone towards the gate. some shots were fired at the escaping men but Mr. Harris Officiating Commandant of the Volunteers, and Mr. Davidson the Commissioner, having given the order not to fire, they all got off except two who were wounded, and one man who remained "staunch" being threatened by a volunteer that he would be shot if he moved. Another man was found lurking in

a hut in the neighberhood later in the day. From forty to fifty men must have thus escaped, but as they were unarmed they are probably reserved only to be hunted down by the police. The Volunteers then leaving the Treasury in charge of the Nazir, occupied the sailors hospital close by till firing had ceased, when they again mounted guard at the Treasury.

Messrs Moran and Reily in the afternoon rode out to Major Smith's house. Four of the guard of ten men there had deserted with their arms. The remainder gave up theirs.

But we must now follow our gallant little band of sailors. Away they marched at a tremendous pace for the Lall Bagh situated about a mile and a half to the westward of the Treasury. On their way they detached a party who disarmed the Commissariat guard. On approaching the Lall Bagh, Lieutenant Mullin accompanied by two sailors went in advance to warn his men of what was coming but being immediately fired at, the whole body advanced, and deployed into line. To understand what follows we ought to have a plan of the place, but that is beyond our power to give, so we must try what we can do by means of description. The Lall Bagh is the ruins of the palace of Shah Jehanghire. But little of it remains with the exception of a great mound of ruins extending for about four or five hundred yards with its southern front towards the river. Upon this have lately been built pucka barracks for the sepoys. At right angles, towards the west, there runs a high wall, part of the old palace. The other two sides are enclosed by a low wall. In a line running from the east westwards in the middle of this enclosure, are, first a large tank, next the hospital a two storied building, behind that Beebee Purree's tomb, which is a mosque of considerable size, next a large mosque, behind which are the gun sheds which contained two fine six pounders with 26 artillerymen. The guns were drawn out, one on each side of the mosque. One of them commanded the whole range of the barracks, and the other played upon the sailors howitzers, which were commanded by Mr. Connor and Lieutenant Dowell of the Artillery, the latter having volunteered to work one gun to assist in taking his own.

Immediately on the sailors deploying into line, a tremendous fire of gripe was opened upon them from the guns at the same time with a flank fire from the barracks, which having jaffrey work verandahs, afforded shelter to those who fired, as though loopholes. Lieutenant Lewis leaving his howitzers to the care of themselves and of Mr. Carnac and one of two other gentlemen who acted as riflemen, wheeled his men right shoulders forward, and gave the order to charge up the face of the mound which was done in most gallant style, and here several men fell wounded one more tally. Then commenced work of driving the sepoys barrack to barrack along the whole length of the mound, and in doing this Lieutenant Lewis received a slight wound in the thumb, from a sepoy whom he met turning a corner. On reaching the end Mr. Midshipman Mayo headed a most gallant charge, being about twenty yards in advance of his

men upon the guns, whereupon the day was won and the sepoys retreated as fast as they could by the North west corner, their retreat being quickened by a shell or two. We are very sorry to say that Dr. Green while attending the wounded at the hospital, was shot through the leg. He is however doing well. The man who shot him was concealed in an officer's tent pitched in the compound. He received his due reward however. The man who killed him told us the whole story and how he suspected that tent, and entering it found the man—"and then?" said we."Why I skivered him and took his ram-sammy."His what said we"His ram-sammy," upon which he drew from his pocket a sepoys bead necklace.—At the hospital the Revd. Mr. Winchester, distinguished himself in assisting careless of the hot fire to which he exposed himself in carrying the wounded from the field. There were in all about ninety Europeans engaged in this battle against about two hundred sepoys fully prepared for many of their pouches were found to contain sixty rounds of ball cartridge, besides a number of cartridges concealed in their beds and other places and fighting under cover with two, excellent guns. Of the Europeans one was killed and eighteen wounded, three it is believed mortally (two have since died.)

We would account for the sepoys as follow:—8 were"staunch", about 60 escaped after being disarmed, 41 were killed, 6 were sick, 8 wounded and prisoners I artilleryman has delivered himself up, in all 124; so that 136 remain to be accounted for. Of these many must be wounded and but few armed for a great many muskets were taken from the Lallbagh. A few armed men have been seen going in the direction of Mymensing.

The people of the town behaved remarkably well assisting with loud shouts in dragging the guns and tumbrils to the Collectory, and looking on admiringly when the sailors having made a prize of the drum and fife belonging to the sepoys marched back to their barracks playing the British Grendliers. Those who witnessed the fight say that there was not a single man who did not behave most bravely. One man in particular, of the name of Brown we believe, fought six sepoys at once and disposed of a good many of them."our sailors" have proved themselves every man a hero. Not one behaved ill. They fought, their officers say like perfect devils, and yet they did not bayonet the sick in hospital though more than one shot came very suspiciously from that direction.

Mr. Bainbridge cannot be said to be among the wounded, though he certainly ought to be. He was pitched over the parapet and fell about 20 feet, on his back upon a hard heap of bricks and got up quite unhurt. Strong patrols of volunteers both cavalry and infantry were out during the whole of last night. A shot or two was heard from the jungle, supposed to proceed from the wounded trying to keep off jackals.

Mr. Conner in command of a gun-boat, started for Naraingunge and Dowdkandee on Sunday evening.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

Henry Smith *Punjaub* A. B. Mortally (since dead)
Neil Mc.Mullen *Punjaub* A. B. Mortally (since dead)
James Munro *Zenobia* A. B. Mortally (since dead)
William Herden *Punjaub* A. B. Mortally (since dead)
Robert Brown *Zenobia* Artillery Gunner Dangerously (since Dead)
Charles Gardiner *Zenobia* A. B. Dangerously (am putation of leg)
Alexr. Mc Miller *Punjaub* A. B. Dangerously
Doctor W. A. Green Civil Surgeon Severely
William Alfrod *Zenobia* A. B. Severely
George Adams *Zenobia* A. B. Severely
Samuel Hughes *Zenobia* Bombardier Artillery Severely
George List *Punjaub* A. B. Severely
Thomas Kean *Zenobia* Artillery Gunner Severely
James Hughes *Zenobia* Artllery Gunner Severely
Lieut. Lewis *Punjaub* Slightly
John Jones *Punjuab* C. F. Slightly
Patrick O'Brien *Zenobia* A. B Slightly
William Brown *Punjaub* A. B. Slightly
Lieut Dowell Bengal Artillery Slightly (Spent ball)

28 11 1857

EXECUTION OF FOUR MUTINERRS

On Thursday morning, exactly at seven o'clock, four of the mutineers who had been caught on the afternoon of Sunday, having been condemmed to death by Mr. Abercrombie the Judge the day before, were hung on one gallows erected on the open space before the Church. The sailors were drawn up on the right of the gallows, and the Volunteer infantry, having the Cavalry on their right rank were drawn up in front. Three of the men adjusted the ropes round their own necks and died bravely. The fourth fainted from terror, and had to be supported. Their wounded commander were brought from the hospital to witness the execution, and the men where had remained true were also marched up. The whole was conducted with the utmost decency and in complete silence.[১২]

DACCA-FRIDAY 27th November 1857

A soobadar and Naick of the 73rd were hung this morning on the gallows opposite the church. The arrangement were the same as yesterday, except that the volunteers, who have received a considerable addition to their strength, were drawn up on the sight of the gallows, the cavalry in front.... From what we can learn, about 75 of the mutineers escaped in a body from the Lall Bagh, about half of them armed, and many badly wounded. They proceeded very rapidly in the direction of Mymensingh with the intention of making for the headquarters of the regiment at Jalpaigooree.

28.11.1857

ANOTHER SEPOY WAS HANGED

Another sepoy was hanged on Tuesday morning at a quarter to seven, opposite the church: All went off well and quietly and in the same order as usual.

12.12.1857

ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS CONCERNING "OUR BATTLE"

There are one or two things which the hurry of the last week caused us to forget mentioning in the account of our battle" last week. The first is to account for how the sepoys were found in such a state of preparedness to receive the disarming party, as to have their uniform coats on, and the guns drawn out and most advantageouly posted. It has been ascertained from the accounts of those who have been subsequently taken, that at the time the Collectory guard was disarmed, three men were started from those back windows which afterwards gave us so much trouble in permitting the escape of the guard, who ran—and every one knows how fast a Pandy can run—and gave their comrades warning. They had at least a quarter of an hour's notice, which was amply sufficient for men who have been accustomed for the last three or four months to be turned out during the night for roll-call, to get ready in. That they were ready is proved by the fact, that the sailors were saluted with a volley whenever they came upon the ground, and that the guns were rapidly and admirably served, as was evident from the way in which the ground was ploughed up and from our great loss in artillerymen.—When Mr. McMullin went forward he called for the Havildar Major, whereupon he was immediately fired at by one man, and then by seven. He luckily escaped unhurt, but his syce was wounded.—We stated that it was the afternoon when Messrs Reily and Moran rode to Major Smith's guard and got them to deliver up their arms. Instead of this it was between nine and ten o'clock. The guard asked for their officer. These gentlemen told one of them to come into the city, about a mile and a half, to get assurance for protection, while one of themselves, Mr. Moran, remained with them as a hostage for good faith—After the Collectory Guard had fled, 8 muskets, some of them loaded, a box of ball cartridge, and a box of caps, were found, which had been overlooked by the disarming party.—Some of the Dacca correspondents of the Calcutta papers have rather undervalued the severity of the fight. When we mention that one man in every five of our small force was wounded, and one sixteenth of them were mortally so, and that eighty of the enemy have been accounted for as killed or wounded we think we have given sufficient proof that the fight was no childs play. It appears that the adjutant of the 73rd had been particularly careful in training his men to fire low. He had taught them well, for not one of our men who were wounded by gunshot wounds were hit above the waist, and hence so many fatal cases.—The Mutineers used or made away with gun-ammunition as follows:-46 cartridges, 10 round shot, 8 canister (grape).

5.12.1857

CORRESPONDENCE
NOAKHOLLY DEFENCES

Dear Mr. Editor,—Our small town received another shock on the 20th instant but like a rock amidst the strong main it stood firm without shrinking. No sooner did the intelligence of the mutiny at Chittagong reach the care of our worthy magistrate, than he set out alone in the gloom of night to procure the men of defence, and through the assistance of several native, gentlemen, chiefly the active and brave naib of Bhullooah, matters were so arranged, that within 14 hours time, about a thousand hardy and robust natives some with clubs, others with firearms in their hands made their appearance and were posted to advantageous positions, with orders to hold out till the last. Almost 500 of them lay in wait for the rebels at Companygunge to prevent their crossing the Fenny.

The Kutchery building of Rajah Protaub Sing Zemindar of Bhullooah was selected as the most suitable substitute for a fortified Castle, and measures were accordingly taken for strengthening and securing its doors &c with Iron bolts. This building being at the entrance of the town situated on one side of the principal public road and commanding a large portion of it, afforded the best place for resistance. A piece of brick bat or *Jamma* let fall from above its lofty roof would acquire a *killing* momentum in its passage downwards and such ten thousand pieces were carefully deposited there ready at hand, not to mention heavy pieces of wood which would have damaged more heads than the muskets of the besiegers. Other men with muskets in their hand placed themselves behind the parapets, pillars of arcades and windows. Rice, Dal, Ghee, flour and Flesh were also collected and all other necessaries, were provided at the expence of the said Rajah. In short our little garrison would have held out for a fortnight if all resources from outside were cut off. But to our misfortune, all this was prepared for the reception of a set of rogues and cowards, who robbing in the night took to the hills in the day, leaving our golden hopes unrealized.

We have certainly lost the game but not through our own folly. It is to be regretted that our neighbours far from assisting us in our laudable pursuit took to their heels on the first alarm. They have the same resources that we have, many of them are as stout, and they have more Civilians for their leaders than we have, but

"Ah then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears, and tremblings of distress,
And cheeks all pale."

Bravo! one would exclaim what is the matter? We would wish Government to take some notice of these effieminate gentlemen of Commillah; for such bright examples may mark the value of a giant and infuse fear in the bravest hearts. Let them take courgae and look up to us and on our sensible magistrate who cared not a rush and moved not an inch. In conclusion we congratulate you upon the triumph that you have obtained over the mutineers of Dacca, and

thank you for the pains that you have taken in getting rid of these disagreeable companies.

Noakhally 25th Nov. 1857 I am Sir, Yours

AO.

ONE at least of the Comillah Civilians does not deserve the reproach of our correspondent Mr. Metcalfe the Judge has stuck to his station throughout.—ED. DACCA NEWS.

5.12.1857

EUROPEANS IN BENGAL

—The ENGLISHMAN and other papers have been informed by numerous correspondents, that the people of the country do not believe in the fall of Delhi, nor in the arrival of European troops in this country:—that the former belief is encouraged by their knowledge that the press is gagged and cannot speak out, and the latter, because, instead of making a display of our troops as they arrive, we have smuggled them into the country and off to the field of battle. The ENGLISHMAN says, "Indeed, this policy has "been so carefully carried out, that even in Calcutta there are not only natives, but a good many Christians too, who are doubtful as to the actual number of European troops, which have already reached Calcutta from England, and the greater part of which have been sent on to the Upper Provinces. We must therefore not be surprised at the arguments adduced by the people of Chittagong: Backergunge, Dacca and Assam, who quite broadly assert that if so many thousand men have come out from England, surely the Government could spare a few hundred for the protection of those districts." The ENGLISHMAN then goes on to say, that such reasoning probably accelerated the mutiny at Chittagong. We believe this to be the case. We believe that the way in which those districts have been left to themselves, even our monthly steamer being taken from us, bred a belief in the minds of the people that the Government was very hard pushed indeed. We believe that the fact that sailors were sent to Dacca instead of soldiers was the case that the detachment here resisted disarming, and cost us the lives of so many bravemen. The remark made not only by the sepoys but by even the well disposed of the town's people, the day "our sailors" landed, and often repeated till the day on which the little bull dogs showed how they could fight, was, "Those are little half starved men and can never fight with the sepoys." The sepoys among themselves, and to the town's people, used to boast that they could "chew them up," if they wished to do so. The European portion of the community even, have expressed doubts as to whether such "riff-raff" as the Marine Police would be of much use in Assam, Dinagepore, Rungpore, and other places where they have been stationed. We do not say, that when a little more disciplined they will not fight as well as Englishmen always fight, but we say that by our having failed to make a show of disciplined European troops, men erect and perfect in drill and faultless in uniform of a greater average size than the sailors whose slouching

gait also takes away from their apparent height, we have induced the necessity of fighting. Some of our native friends said to us the other day when the *Koel* steamed up her guns booming out a salute to the city and her decks covered with the scarlet coated 54th, "Now, our confidence is quite restored" but how much more confidence would they have felt, had these men been landed in the afternoon and marched throughout the city. The officers, we believe, wished to do this chiefly on account of the health of their men, but we have heard that the Captain of the Steamer would not alter his dinner hour so as to admit of it. We should just like to know that Captain's name. We have not seen an English soldier for the last fifteen years. We almost forget what they are like. We know that they fight splendidly, because we have read all about them in the Crimea. But we should have like to have had an opportunity of judging of their likelihood of doing so for ourselves. We knew from the Calcutta papers that there were 336 of them on board, but still we should have like to have seen how many 336 looked. Seeing is believing, and our own confidence in the arrival of troops from England would have been greatly increased had we seen them, how much more that of the baboos and coolies of Dacca. A little show of being ready to fight often averts the necessity of doing so.

12.12 1857

FORT FOLEY

—It will we believe be allowed by all, that for many years to come Dacca must be garrisoned by European troops. If so, Where are they to be placed? The first thing we must look to is their health. Dacca has as every one knows who has had any long experience of it, not only one of the most pleasant climates in the world—neither oppressively hot in summer, nor inconveniently cold in winter—but it is eminently a heathful climate for Europeans provided that certain conditions be observed. The first of these is that the European should sleep at least ten feet higher than the surface of the ground. Those who in the town of Dacca neglect this precaution are invariably attacked by a low fever which is very fatal. We ourselves lived for two years on a ground floor in the Mofussil, without experienceing the least ill effect, but we could not have done so in the town itself. The second is, that the situation of the house in which the European lives shall be near the river. Up and down the river for twelve months of the year a healthful breeze is perpetually blowing, and it seems to be necesary to the European constitution, that it should be nourished by this breeze. It is indeed to this cause that we impute the healthfulness of the European planters throughout Bengal. Their factories are all situated either on the banks of large rivers, or in the midst of wide spreading plains. The situation of our European troops then must be such as to give them the benefit of a

two-storied house, and of the pure river air. Such a situation and such a house we have in Fort Foley, the old Dacca Mills. There are three stories there, which would accommodate we do not know how many hundred men, and many hundred more might find quarters, were but a few thousand rupees paid to any of the Calcutta contractors for additions. Fort Foley is situated at a most convenient point. It is not in the city, and it is hardly out of it. It juts out into the river, so as to receive the full benefit of the south east monsoon, and also that of the westerly winds. Boats always sail either up or down the river with their sails set. Fort Foley is in such a situation as to receive the benefit of both breezes.—The Lall Bagh, for instance, which was fixed upon by a medical committee, who bestowed three day consideration upon Dacca, and who were so afraid of Lord Dalhousie's having supposed them to be influenced by private interests in Dacca, that they refused to take any evidence whatever, or even to dine with their own private friends in the station, the Lall Bagh is far from being a healthy situation, for during the whole of the South East monsoon the wind has to blow over the whole of the city, reeking with the filthiest exhalations in the hottest season of the year, that season which produces such exhalation and their general results in their greatest virulence, before it reaches it. The only thing that saved the native troops from being annihilated in such a situation, in that quarter of the city where it is notorious that cholera first shows itself, was the fact of their being raised about twenty feet above the ground, and thus breathing an atmosphere which the heavier and more noxious gases had not contaminated. Barracks have been lately built there—more like stables than anything else—and at an expense which none but government would have sanctioned; which, however native troops may have flourished and remained healthy in them, would be death to Europeans. The Barracks there could not be so disposed as to receive the South East monsoon through the whole range—and this we believe to be absolutely necessary to health. At Fort Foley tney cannot help doing so.—At the Lall Bagh there is no room for a parade ground. At Fort Foley there might be made, at the expense of a few thousand rupees, a magnificent parade ground, which would at the same time add to the health of the men stationed there. Houses for the officers would also be required. Some such houses are already on the property; the remainder of those required might be built at a small expense, is consequence of the vicinity of the Sampore brick fields. There is no place in Lower Bengal where lime is cheaper than in Dacca and that it is not as cheap again is in consequence of the iniquitous denial of justice in the Cherra hills. Perhaps Sampore, a little lower down the river, might be the more advantageous situation for Europeans, but there an immense deal of building would have to be done, and the

formation of a parade ground would cost a great deal of money. If we were Government, we would buy the Mills property first, and Sampore next, and cut down every treee and level the whole place, and fix our troops in the Mills. The whole expense would soon be saved by the healthiness of the men. Except those who committed suicide by drunkenness, Government ought not to lose a single man.

In last August, shortly after we had determined on constructing a fort here as a refuge for our women and children in the day of trouble, and for ourselves in the last extremity, we wrote an article advocating the construction of such forts at every station throughout Bengal. We have had several alarms here, which have shown the advantage of such a fort in tending to disembarass the fighting men of those who were too cowardly to strike a blow in the open on their own behalf, and in providing a place of real security for women, children and those who were too weak to fight. Fort Foley was the spot chosen, and fortified by us with all the skill available in Dacca. It is close to the river, affording both water sufficient for every purpose, and a means of obtaining supplies and communicating with the world without. If a regiment or part of a European regiment should be stationed there, the fortifications should be enlarged and made stronger, and the bulk of the treasure, the records, and in fact everything which is valuable in the station, with the exception of those things which are in daily use, should be lodged there, and kept there for many years to come. And the same ought to be the case in every station in India. Forts able to accommodate the usual number of the Christian inhabitants of each station ought to be constructed at once and the treasure and the records and the ammunition, at stations where it is thought advisable to have only native troops, and all that is valuable ought to be kept there. In August last we advised forts. Now when the danger has come and has passed, they are improvising them at Chittagong, at Noakhally, and at Burrisaul. Had the forts existed, perhaps the danger had never come. We believe that this would certainly have been the case had they had a fort, and volunteers raised and armed from the large Christian population of Chittagong. The sepoys would never have dared to have attached a fort in which the treasure was lodged, and which at the least symptom of danger, or even on the occurrence of a panic, was flocked to and guarded by an armed Christian population.—If Fort Foley were garrisoned by but a few European troops, with cannon, and the Treasure lodged there and were the place but fortified as it is now, to say nothing of the strength which a few hundred rupees would add to it, no force that might enter Bengal would ever dare to attack it, until that day come when the European shall have changed places with the muslin clad Bengalee. When that day comes, then Dacca and the surrounding districts, garrisoned by Europeans and having a

fortification in the possession of the latter, may surrender. But until it come, the thing is an impossibility, and it is absurd even to suppose it. When, however, the European or Christians are left but a handful in number, they can only, however they may be resolved, but die uselessly to the honor of their country, or run away ingloriously, to the shame of their country but to the exaltation of their own wisdom and common sense. Had we but forts we need do neither. We therefore advise that Fort Foley should be purchased by Government and garrisoned by Europeans; so shall the Europeans be healthy and we safe.

12.12.1857

A DAY OF THANKSGIVING

Say "Thank you" is one of the first lessons taught by a parent to a child, Whether the gift be a penny piece, of a knot of sugar of a new frock or a new toy, the "Say thank you" invariably follows its bestowal. The child soon learns that if it wishes for and asks for anything good, it will be expected to say " Thank you :" if it receive it. We stand in exactly the same relation to one whom we address night and morning as " Our Father which art in Heaven," as the child does to its earthly parent . if there be a want felt in a family by the little community of brothers and sisters the invariable result of their consultations is, Let us ask Papa. Papa can do everything for us and can give us everything we can desire, We know that Papa is very fond of us and that if he refuse us anything it is not because he cannot give it to us, for which of us ever for a moment imagines that there is anything that Papa cannot do, and when he refuses we never doubt his love; if we did we should be most miserable, for if Papa do not love us who will-where shall we go? When Papa refuses, we believe him fully when he says that it is not good for us. We ' trust in his judgement as to what is and what is not for us. But when our requests are granted, we know that we shall have to say " thank you." - But as it is with an earthly father, so it is with our Father which is in Heaven. On the 20th of june last we urged upon Christians in India, and upon Lord Canning, the head of a nominally Christian Government, the duty of applying to our Father by prayer, prayer as a nation and a Government for deliverance from the evils which were praying daily, in their closets were" wrestling" with God for help but as a nation we had not applied to Him at last there was an ungracious concession to our wishes, A day was set apart for special prayer to God, which was already His. But He who is gracious and merciful did not visit us with the punishment due for offering that which was" blind and maimed" he has answered our prayers and has sent us great deliverance, But he will expect us to say "thank you" for that deliverace. He will not permit us to pass it by in silence as if it were

something that we had deserved of earned. We have received since June very great gifts and mercies from Him. In Dacca we have been preserved, and we are happy to say that two portions of our community, the Baptists and the Armenan, gave .. thank to god for that preservation.

The members of the English Church cannot thank God till authorised to do so by their Bishop. and he has authorised them to thank God for any of the mercies vouchsafed to India, probably because he is a member of a State Church, of which Queen Victoria is the Head and Lord Canning Queen Victoria's representative; and it would be perhaps improper in him to thank God for anything until Lord Canning declared that it was the time to do so, Lord Canning may probably think that we ought not to" Hulloa till we are out of the wood" that we ought not thank God till we are in perfect safety, but suppose that we were to be driven out of India within the next month, or that every one of us were to be murdered within the next month-have we nothing to thank God for ? We are taught to pray to Him for our daily bread-not for our weekly or monthly or yearly bread. We may have no bread to morrow, but is that a reason why we should not give thanks for that which we have enjoyed to day ? Would an earthly other excuse the thank you" of to day, on the plea that we expected something more tomorrow and would then thank for to day's gifts and tomorrow's together ? Certainly not, and the fact that we had refused thanks for todays gifts, might probably be ther eason of his refusing to give us those of tomorrow. And have we as a nation has Lord Canning as a Governor, nothing to retrun thanks for ? What is the capture of Delhi by a handful of men, who might have been, without men of the world considering it anything extraordinary, annihilated by disease ? It is easy for us to say that one European Soldier is equal to ten or twenty of a hundred natives:-but who has given them that power ? We used to say that no European could fight during the hot season and the rains, The seige of Delhi was carried on by Europeans during that season. Who gave them the power to resist the deadly sun and rain ? In the relief of the Lucknow garrison nothing to say" thank you" for ? Nay is not the very existence of that garrison. the preservation of its women and children and its brave defenders a subject alone for continued praise and thankfulness ? Who was it that kept that small body of native troops faithful when 1000,000 of their brethren had mutinied ? Who was it that enabled the European portion of the garrison to undergo unexampled fatigues during five long months ? Is there any one among us who would not have felt the destruction of that noble little band as a personal bereavement; as if we. ourselves had lost a relation. And have we no cause in their preservation, to say" thank you" ? Though all were to go ill with us from this day forth, still would not gratitude

itself call on us to thank that God-that Father who hath done such great things for us. Are we to wait till our delieverance is complete before we offer upon our thank's to God ? we are accustomed to accuse the Bengalees of ingratitude, to say that they have no such word as gratitude in their language which is untrue by the way, as most sayings about the Bengalees are-but might not the Bengalee whom we had rescued from starvation and raised to wealth plead, with reason equal to that which induces us to put off our thanks giving to God, that he was not sure whether his riches would last, whether he might not lose them all, and he himself be reduced to a worse condition than if he had never had them, as he would never have felt the want their loss occasioned; and that he would wait till the day of his death, and if his riches increased up to that time, and he died wealthy, he would then thank us, we should consider one who reasoned thus as ungrateful in the highest degree, but is not this the reasoning which would prevent us from setting apart a day of national thanks giving for the acknowledgedly very great mercies we have already received, because-reverses may happen hereafter, and we should find out that we had made a mistake in thanking God!

In these days of Sadduceeism- of acknowledging neither angel nor spirit, of ascribing everything that happens to ourselves either to Providence, of Nature, of Chance, instead of the direct interference of God in our personal concerns in these days when the plenary inspiration to the Bible is doubted, and men set aside a word here and a phrase there as a mistranslation of an interpolation, because it does not exactly coincide with our theories, we do not know that it is much to our purpose to quote the Bible in support or an argument.- We beg pardon of our readers for stopping here for a moment to ask, whether they would not think one very absurd if he questioned the plain reading of an act of parliament of Henry the Eighth's time merely because it did not agree with his own notions of what ought to have been then done and said. But this is what is done every day with the Bible. Lawyers every day stake a case upon the interpretation of a single word in an act of Parliament, a part of the law of England; but if we venture to found an argument upon a whole sentence of the law of God, we are told immediately an interpolation, and it is set aside, even though it should most completely agree, in the opinion of eminent juris-consults in that law, with the whole tenor of the Book of the Law. The plenary inspiration of Acts of Parliament is disallowed by no man, but the plenary inspiration of the Bible, the Law, of God, is disallowed by all but a very few, we shall however assume that a great many of our readers do allow the plenary inspiration of the Bible-that is that it is a law which must be weighed word for word, and syllable by syllable, as if it had issued from God's own Press, with God's own name as the printer, We find it

written in that law,"Be careful (full of care) for nothing but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiveng. "But we cannot give thanks for what we have not received. It is therefore the natural interpretation of this precept that we should give thanks for the fulfilment of each prayer as it is granted. We have prayed for the fall of Delhi. It has been granted and ought to have been followed by thanksgiving. We have prayed for the rescue of the garrison of Lucknow. That too has been granted and ought to have been followed by thanksgiving. These have been national prayers, and ought to have been acknowledged by national thanksgivings as each prayer. We have had men praying hard, wrestling with god as Jacob did with the angel, that Dacca might be preserved. Dacca ought to have in return for its preservation, returned thanks, Its reqquests"were made known unto God". They were answered; and immediately after that answer ought to have followed the" thanksgiving" of Dacca. We have already said that it did follow on the part of a large portion of the community, but it did not on the part of the State Church We are afraid therefore that the state will be held accountable before god for its neglect on this point.

The state has been hitherto guilty in not having applied to God for assistance. We believe that the day of Humiliation, so far as the state went, in as far as it was appointed for a Sunday, in the intimation of it being expressed in such terms as would allow each Hindoo and Mussulman in the country to join in it, to have been an abomination in the eyes of the God of the Christian. Let not the day of Thanksgiving which we hope will soon be Nationally appointed, appointed by the representative of the Queen and nation, partake of the same character. Let it be a day peculiarly our own, God forbid that any Christian of any denomination should be excluded from joining in it, but let not the declaration which we hope will soon issue from Government that a day has ben set apart for thanksgiving to the Lord God of Heaven for his mercies towards us, who are but a handful in this land, be so loosely worded as that it may be joined in by any sepoy, who, seeing that we were gaining the day had laid down his arms and submitted to an already triumphant Government. Let it be a thanksgiving to the God of the Christian; the Christian who, however darkly clouds may lower around him, will never deny that name, the only name of which man has any right to be proud.

We sincerely hope that not many days will pass over our heads before we see a day of thanksgiving appointed by the Government, for the great mercies we have lately experienced, for we find the promise appended to the text we have already quoted to be as follows.-And the peace of God which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and mindss through Christ Jesus."

26 12 1857

THE HERO OF DACCA

We hear of natives being rewardad everywhere for the conduct during mutinies. As those who did then duty in Dacca, with the exception of Kajeh Abdool Gunny who subscribed a lakh of nepees to the 5 percent loan, were Armenians and Europeans we do not wonder that no thanks or praise has been meted out to any one here. We are however anxious that we should have at least one distinguished fellow citizen, and that at least a few drops from that rivers of bounty which the Governor General is causing to flow in the north-west, should trickle towards Dacca. We would therefore recommend to the Right Honorable the Governor-General, for a pension of Four rupees per mensem Amdhoo, one of the Garrywans of the Municipal committee, who on the morning of the 21st of November last, drove his car laden with ammunition for the sailor guns to the Lall Bagh, and when the fight there begun, not run away as did his fellow garrywan but made himself extremely useful by carrying ammunition from his cart to the guns. It must be that this was a service of no slight danger, as one great loss of men was at the guns. We are assured that the poor fellow acted with the greatest coolnrss and self-possession, and we do not see why he shoud not be made independant and happy for life at a ridiculously small expense to Government. The fact as to whether he acted or not as he is said to have done can easily be establihed by reference to Mr. Lewis. Let us have at least one rewarded man in Dacca. The man we have recommended is in everyway qualified. He has acted well and is a native. We should have misled to say some thing about batta and prize money to one sailors, but as they are europeans it would be but a waste of time to do so, they must be content with being branded as a set of blood thirsty ruffins by Mr. Layard.

3.7.1858

নীল, নীলকর ও নীলচাষ

[উনিশ শতকের মধ্যভাগে নীলচাষ, নীলকর, নীলকরের অত্যাচার ও প্রতিক্রিয়া ছিল বাংলার মানুষের প্রধান আলোচ্য বিষয়। সমসাময়িক বিভিন্ন পত্র-পত্রিকায় এ প্রসঙ্গ ঘুরে ফিরে এসেছে। 'ঢাকা নিউজ' যেহেতু ছিল প্রধানত নীলকরদের মুখপত্র, তাই স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই নীলচাষ প্রসঙ্গ আলোচিত হয়েছে বিভিন্ন ভাবে।

নীলের জাতিগত নাম 'ইন্ডিগো ফেরা'। ১৭৭২ সালে ফরাসী বণিক লুই বোর্নাত হুগলী জেলার নালডাঙায় এক নীলকুঠি করে প্রথম এ চাষ শুরু করেন। ইংরেজ বণিকদের মধ্যে ক্যারল ব্লুম প্রথম নীলকুঠি স্থাপন করেছিলেন। তবে , ১৭৮৮ সালের আগে বাংলায় ব্যাপকভাবে নীলচাষ শুরু হয় নি।

উনিশ শতকের শুরুতে নীলচাষ হয়ে ওঠে লাভজনক। এক হিসেবে জানা যায়, ১৮১৯-২০ সাল থেকে ১৮২৬- এর মধ্যে প্রতিবছর দশ-বারো লক্ষ টাকা কোম্পানী লাভ করেছিলো। এ সময়ে নদীয়া, যশোর, কুষ্টিয়া, পাবনা, ফরিদপুর, বরিশাল, প্রভৃতি অঞ্চলে নীলচাষ শুরু হয়।

১৭৯৪ সালে বাংলাদেশে, যশোরে বিভ নামে এক ইংরেজ প্রথম নীলকুঠি স্থাপন করেন। উনিশ শতকের শুরুতেই যশোরে ১০৩ বর্গমাইল এলাকা নীল চাষের অর্ন্তভুক্ত হয়। তবে, বাংলাদেশে বেঙ্গল ইন্ডিগো কোম্পানী ও জেমস হিলস কোম্পানী নীলব্যবসা নিয়ন্ত্রণ করতো। ১৮৫৮ সালে বেঙ্গল ইন্ডিগো কোম্পানীর অধীনে ৩৩,২০০ নীলচাষী ছিল। [১]

নীলকররা গ্রামাঞ্চলে কিভাবে অনুপ্রবেশ করেছিলো এবং তার প্রতিক্রিয়া কি হয়েছিলো তা উল্লেখ করেছেন চিত্তব্রত পালিত তাঁর গ্রন্থে ১৮৩১-৩২ সালের পার্লামেটারি পেপাস থেকে। তিনি মফস্বলের নীলকরদের একটি তালিকা দিয়েছেন যেখান থেকে পূর্ববঙ্গের জেলাগুলির হিসাব উদ্ধৃত করা হলো—

জেলা	ফ্যাকটরি	নীলকর	সহকাবি	জমি দখল [বিঘা হিসাবে]
দিনাজপুর		৩	২	৮২১
পাবনা	১৯	৯৯	৩৮	১৬৯৩৪৭
বগুড়া	৪	১৮	৭	১৪৭১০
ত্রিপুরা	৭	৭		১৯২০০
ঢাকা-জালালপুর	-	৭৪	৩৮	১২২১১৫১
ঢাকা	-	১০	১১	৩৪৩৯২

জেলা	ফ্যাকটরি	নীলকর	সহকারি	জমি দখল
যশোর	২	৬৩	৩০	১২০৬৩৩
রংপুর	২	১৪	৭	২১৪০৫
রাজশাহী	৫	১০	১১	৬৮৭০০
ময়মনসিংহ	১	৩৫	১৯	৬৪৯৪৫[২]

নীল ব্যবসা ক্রমেই লাভজনক হয়ে উঠতে থাকলে নীলকরদের স্বার্থ রক্ষার্থে কোম্পানী একটি আইন পাশ করে যাতে বলা হয় চাষী চুক্তি ভঙ্গ করলে আইনগতঃ শাস্তি পাবে। এর অর্থ নীল চাষীরা নীলচাষে আগ্রহী ছিল না, কারণ, তা তাদের জন্য লাভজনক ছিল না। ইংরেজরা চাইছিলো; যে কারণে, এ আইন। চাষীদের নীলচাষে বাধ্য করার জন্য জোর করে চুক্তিপত্রে স্বাক্ষর নেওয়া হতো এবং দাদন বা অগ্রীম নিতে বাধ্য করা হতো। এর মূল উদ্দেশ্য, নীলচাষীদের ক্রীতদাসে পরিণত করা। এ বিষয়ে কোম্পানীর ডিরেকটররাও নিজেদের মতামত দিয়েছিলেন। একজন ডিরেকটর জানিয়েছিলেন- "যে সব রায়ত ইচ্ছায়ই হোক আর অনিচ্ছায় হোক একবার নীলের দাদন নিয়েছে, তারা সারা জীবন ধরে নীল চাষ থেকে আর মুক্তি পায় না, যদি কোনো রায়তের নীলকরের দেনা পরিশোধ করে দেওয়ার ক্ষমতাও থাকে ও নীলচাষ হতে মুক্ত হতে চায় তাহলেও বর্তমানে এমন কোনো আইনসঙ্গত উপায় নেই, যার বলে সে নীলকরের সঙ্গে হিসাবনিকাশ চুকিয়ে ফেলতে পারে ও নীলের নাগপাশ থেকে রেহাই পেতে পারে। নীলকর এই টাকা কিছুতেই গ্রহণ করে না, তার ফলে রায়তকে চিরকাল ধরে তার অনিচ্ছা সত্ত্বেও নীলচাষ করে যেতেই হয়"।[৩] নীলচাষ কেন কৃষক করতে চাইতো না, দু'টি হিসাব উদ্ধৃত করলেই তা স্পষ্ট হবে।

নদীয়া জেলার মোল্লাহাটি কনসার্নের দু'জন চাষীর ১৮৫৯ সালের হিসাব—

১. তাছু মন্ডল

আলমপুর গ্রাম

জমি সাড়ে তিন বিঘা

জমা		খরচ
		টা-আ-পা
নীলগাছ বাবদ টা-আ-পাই	১৮৫৮ সালের বাকী	৩৬-৬-১
(টাকায় ছয় আঁটিকরে ১১-৪-০)	১৮৫৯ সালের দাদন	৩-০-০
বীজ-০-৪-০	স্ট্যাম্প	০-৫-০

মোট-১১-৮-০	চাষের খরচ	০-১০-০
	গাছ কাটার খরচ	০-৮-০
	বীজ	১-১২-০
	গাড়ী ভাড়া	০-১৩-০
	মোট	৪৩-৬-১
	জমা	১১-৮-০

	রায়তের বাকী-৩১-৮-১	

২. হানিফ মুন্সী
গাজিপুর গ্রাম
জমি তিন বিঘা

জমা		খরচ	
			টা-আ-পা
		১৮৫৮ সালের বাকী	৬৭-৩-০
নীলগাছ বাবদ	টা-আ-পা	দাদন	২-৮-০
(টাকায় ছয় আঁটি করে)	৩-৬-৮	ষ্ট্যাম্প	৩-৮-০
বীজ	০-৪-০	নিড়ানি	০-১-৩
		গাছ কাটা	০-৮-০
মোট	৩-১০-৮	বীজ	১-৪-৩
		গাড়ী ভাড়া	০-৪-৩
		মোট	৭২-৪-৬
		জমা	৩-১০-৮
		রায়তের বাকী	৬৮-৯-১০[8]

অর্থ কষ্ট ছাড়াও যে অসহনীয় অত্যাচার নীলচাষীদের সহ্য করতে হতো তা বর্ণনাতীত। বিনয় ঘোষ লিখেছিলেন, "উনিশ শতকের বাংলা ও ইংরেজী সাময়িক পত্রে নীলকরদের দৌরাত্ম্য ও দুর্বিনত আচরণের কাহিনী এত প্রকাশিত হয়েছে যে শুধু বাংলা পত্রিকার রচনাগুলি সংকলন করলে একটি হাজার পৃষ্ঠার বই হতে পারে।"[৫] তাঁর সংকলিত 'সাময়িক পত্রে বাংলার সমাজ চিত্র' -এর চারখন্ডে এ অত্যাচারের নানা বিবরণ পাওয়া যাবে। এখানে দু'টি উদাহরণ উদ্ধৃত করছি।

সুন্দরবনে নীলের আবাদ ছিল। মোরের নামানুসারে ঐ এলাকার নাম করা হয়েছে মোরেলগঞ্জ। 'সোম প্রকাশ' (২ বৈশাখ, ১২৬৯) লিখেছিলো-"ইংরেজ জাতির মধ্যে যে এতদূর দুরাত্মা, এতদূর নির্দ্দয়, তাহা আমরা পূর্ব্বে জ্ঞাত ছিলাম না। মরে সাহেব অধুনা যাহা দুষ্কর্ম করিতেছেন তাহাতে বোধ হয়, কি অসভ্য বাঙ্গালি, কি প্রসিদ্ধ নিষ্ঠুর মুসলমান কেহ কখন এতদ্দেশে তাদৃশ্য ঘৃণিত কাজে প্রবৃত্ত হন নাই।"[৬]

আব্দুল মতলেব মন্ডলের একটি চিঠি ছাপা হয়েছিলো 'সোম প্রকাশে' ১২৭০ সনের ১৬ চৈত্র—

"হা খোদা! তোর মনে এই ছিল! এই রকম কত করছে। থানার দারোগা ৭০০ টাকা ফুরন করিয়া নিয়েছে সকল গায় নীল বুনিয়ে দেবে, মেজেষ্টরের নিকট দরখাস্ত করিলে না মঞ্জুর, সারা বছর না খেয়ে মজুরি করে জমিগুলি চাষ করিয়া রাখিয়াছি, আসমান পানি দিলেই ধান বুনবো তবে বাল বাচ্চা সমেত খেয়ে জান বাঁচাবো। তাই নীল বুনে নেবে, চুক্তি ভঙ্গ বলে সকলে বেচে কিনে নিল, জমাঃ তিনচারগুণ বেশী করলো, খোদার বান্দা ফাটকে মলো। আর কত মরে তার ঠেকনা কি ? আয়েন্দা ভাত

পানির দফা যায়। আল্লা এমন করে মারিস ক্যান্ ? তুই তো সকলেই পারিস। একদিন কেন সব রাইয়ত গুষ্টি সমেত মেরে ফেলে সাহেবগারে সব দেনা ? আর তো বরদাস্ত হয় না। দোহাই আল্লা। এই দরখাস্ত করছি তুই আমাদের মেরে ফেল।"[৭]

প্রশাসন ছিল নীলকরদের। দু' একজন ব্যতিক্রম হয়ত ছিল, কিন্তু তা' নামে মাত্র। ১৮৩৩ সালে কোম্পানী বাংলাদেশে ইংরেজদের জমি কেনার অধিকার দিয়েছিলো। সে সুযোগে অনেক নীলকর জমিদারও হয়েছিলেন। তা'ছাড়া দেশীয় জমিদারদের থেকেও তারা জমি পত্তনি নিতেন। প্রভাব-প্রতিপত্তি বিস্তার নিয়ে জমিদারদের সঙ্গে বিবাদ বিসম্বাদও শুরু হয়েছিলো। ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহের সময় লেঃ গভর্ণর হ্যালিডে আবার উনিত্রিশ নীলকরকে অবৈতনিক ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট হিসেবে নিয়োগ করেছিলেন।

এতোসব সুবিধা সত্ত্বেও নীলকরা কি ভাবে দেখেছিলেন নীল চাষকে ? একটি পুস্তিকায় জনৈক নীলকর তাঁর অভিজ্ঞতা বর্ণনা করেছেন। ১৮৩৪ সাল থেকে পূর্ববঙ্গের বিভিন্ন জায়গায় জমিদারি কিনেছিলেন তিনি। কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বে, প্রতিবারই কোন না কোন ঝামেলার সম্মুখীন হয়েছিলেন। তার মতে, রাজস্ব বিভাগ ও সদর দেওয়ানী আদালতই সৃষ্টি করতো এসব ঝামেলার এবং জমি থেকে যে লাভ হতো তার অধিকাংই চলে যেতো বছরের পর বছর মামলার খচর চালাতে। আক্ষেপ করে লিখেছিলেন তিনি— "A despotic Government, that would and could have taken possesion of the estates at once, would have acted mercifully compared with or Bengal officials : they would have spared their wretched subjects the ten years harassment of litigation, and what is more, their ten years punishment of rent. " পুলিশেরও নিন্দা করেছিলেন তিনি। এসব সত্ত্বেও তিনি ইংরেজ যুবকদের আহ্বান জানিয়েছিলেন ভারতে আসতে কারণ-"..a Country where society industry, and persevarance, will meet with a far reacher reward than in most other land to which they emigrate." [৮]

আগেই উল্লেখ করেছি, বাংলা পত্র-পত্রিকাগুলিতে নীলকরদের বিরুদ্ধে নিয়মিত লেখা হয়েছে যা নীলকরদের বিরুদ্ধে জনমত সংগঠন করেছে। ১৮৬০ সালে ঢাকা থেকে প্রকাশিত দীনবন্ধু মিত্রের 'নীলদর্পণ' বাঙালি সমাজে যে তীব্র প্রতিক্রিয়ার সৃষ্টি করেছিলো তা আর কোন সাহিত্য কর্ম করতে পারেনি। 'নীলদর্পণ' প্রথম বাংলা নাটক যা ইংরেজিতে অনূদিত হয়েছিলো। এ কারণে রেভারেন্ড জেসম লঙ-কে আদালতের কাঠগড়ায় দাঁড়াতে হয়েছিলো। মিশনারীদের একটি বড় অংশও ছিলেন নীলকরদের অত্যাচার ও শোষণের বিপক্ষে। ১৮৪৮ সালে ফরিদপুরের ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট দেলাতুর বলেছিলেন— "এরূপ একটা বাকস নীলও ইংলন্ডে পৌছায় না যাহা মানুষের রক্তে রঞ্জিত নহে-এই উক্তির জন্য মিশনারীদের সমালোচনা করা হইয়াছে। কিন্তু ইহা আমারও কথা।"[৯]

এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ১৮৫৯-৬০ সালে নীলবিদ্রোহ হয়। ১৮৬০ সালের ৩১ মার্চ নীল চাষীদের বিক্ষোভ ও নীলচাষ সম্পর্কে তদন্তের জন্য কমিশন গঠিত হয়। নীলবিদ্রোহ সম্পর্কে এটি আকর গ্রন্থ বিশেষ।১০

অন্যান্য ইংরেজ মালিকাধীন পত্রিকার মতো 'ঢাকা নিউজ'ও নীলকরদের পক্ষেই ছিল। এখানে 'ঢাকা নিউজ' থেকে যে সব বিষয়ে রচনা সংকলিত হয়েছে তার অধিকাংশই নীলকর সম্পর্কিত। চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত বা ভূমি মালিকানা নিয়েও আছে প্রবন্ধ।

চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত সম্পর্কে পত্রিকায় একটি প্রবন্ধ ছাপা হয়েছে। নিবন্ধের মূল বক্তব্য চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের ৬৩ বছর পর অনেকে এখন বলছেন, চাষীদের ভাগ্যের কোন পরিবর্তন হয়নি। কৃষিক্ষেত্রের কোন উন্নয়ন হয় নি। কর্নওয়ালিসের আশা কেন পূর্ণ হলো না? জমিদাররা কেন অনুপস্থিত। 'ঢাকা নিউজের' মতে গ্রামাঞ্চলে পুলিশের দুর্নীতি এবং "immense power"। এ ধরনের উক্তি অবশ্য কমই পাওয়া গেছে।

কর্নওয়ালিসের চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তে জমিদার একইসঙ্গে জমির মালিক ও কর সংগ্রাহকে পরিণত হয়েছিলেন। জমিদার শোষক হিসেবে অবতীর্ণ হয়েছিলেন কোন রকম দায়িত্ব ছাড়া। কর সংগ্রহ এবং জবরদস্তির মাধ্যমে সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো তার উদ্বৃত্তের। এই উদ্বৃত্ত তিনি শিল্পে লগ্নী করেন নি বরং লগ্নী করেছিলেন নতুন জমিদারী বা মধ্যস্বত্ব কেনার দিকে বা মহাজনী ব্যবসায়। ঔপনিবেশিক কাঠামোতে অনেক বাধা নিষেধই ছিল শিল্পখাতে পুঁজি বিনিয়োগের। তাছাড়া অভ্যন্তরীণ বা বৈদেশিক বাণিজ্য বা শিল্প কোন ক্ষেত্রেই বাঙালী প্রভাব বিস্তার করতে পারে নি। শুধু তাই নয় ঐ কাঠামোতে শ্রেণী হিসাবে তার অবস্থান ছিল অধস্তন। সুতরাং মেট্রোপলিটন পুঁজির সঙ্গে জমিদারের প্রতিযোগীতায় যাওয়া সম্ভব না। বরং অনুৎপাদনশীল খাত, যেমন, কোম্পানীর কাগজ বা মহাজনী ব্যবসার দিকেই তাকে ঝুঁকতে হয়েছিলো যেখানে ছিল ঝুকি কম। সুতরাং এই উদ্বৃত্ত ব্যয়িত হয়েছিলো ভোগের দিকে। জমিদাররা সময়টা নিয়োজিত করেছিলেন বিলাস ব্যাসন। এবং উদ্বৃত্ত খরচ করার জন্য তাকে পা বাড়াতে হয়েছিলো শহরে। এ ভাবেই সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো অনুপস্থিত জমিদারের।

'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এ সিরাজগঞ্জের জি. আর. বেরির সঙ্গে জমিদার মৌলভী আব্দুল আলীর বিবাদের দীর্ঘ বিবরণ লিপিবদ্ধ হয়েছে। বেরির আবেদনপত্রগুলি দেখলে বোঝা যাবে মফস্বলে নীলকররা কি কৌশল গ্রহণ করতো। এবং কেন মফস্বলে দেশীয় জমিদারদের সঙ্গে ইউরোপীয় জমিদারদের বিরোধ বাধতো।

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৬. *ঐ,* পৃ. ৩৩-৩৪।

৭. *ঐ,* পৃ. ৩৪।

৮. দেখুন,, [লেখকের নাম নেই], *The Experiences of a Land-holder and Indigo-Planter in Eastern Bengal*, Aberdeen, 1859.

৯. নীলকমিশন থেকে উদ্ধৃত [ও বাংলায় অনুবাদ], সুপ্রকাশ রায়, *ভারতের কৃষক বিদ্রোহ ও গণতান্ত্রিক সংগ্রাম,* ডি এন বি এ ব্রাদাস, কলকাতা, ১৯৭২ (২ সং), পৃ. ২১১; 'নীলদর্পণ' এর ওপর একটি ভিন্ন ধরনের আলোচনার জন্য দেখুন—
Ranajit Guha, 'Neel-Darpan', The Image of a Peasant Revolt in a Liberal Mirror,' *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol II, No.I, London 1976.

১০. দেখুন, *Report of the Indigo Commission Appointed under Act XI of 1860, with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix*. Calcutta, 1860. নীল বিদ্রোহের ওপর সুসংহত আলোচনার জন্য দেখুন— Blair B. Kling, *The Blue Mutiny*, Calcutta, 1977.

সংকলন

[Mr. Hecquet of Cagmaree]

MR. T. HECQUET Superintendent of the Factories of Mr. Moran of Cagmaree in the Mymensing and Dacca districts, on the 7th Instant was returning in his boat to his factory. Perceiving some cattle in an Indigo field close to the factory he told his manjee to drive the cattle out, and to see what herd boys were with them. The manjee and a peon landed, drove the cattle out of the Indigo, (not towards the Factory,) and abused the herdboy, who ran off to the village. As soon as the boy gave the alarm, about one hundred villagers rushed out, and commenced beating the manjee and peon, who made off to the Factory screaming "Dohai Company Bahadoor." Mr. Hecquet, who had remained in the boat, hearing the noise foolishly jumped ashore to assist his people, but no sooner had his foot touched the shore, than he was pinioned between two bamboos, and beaten till he became senseless. The villagers then becoming alarmed at what they had done, and perceiving the Factory coolies approaching, to the rescue of their saheb, ran off. Mr. Hecquet was carried into the Factory, where he remained senseless for about two hours. Mr. Moran, who on hearing what had taken place, came to the Factory, sent to the thannah for the Darogah; but neither Darogah nor Mohurrir were there. The 7th was a Saturday. On Monday morning Mr. Hecquet left for the Deputy Magistracy of Manickgunge, where he arrived the same day, but the Deputy Magistrate was absent, in Dacca—out of his subdivision,—as Mr. Hecquet was informed. On Tuesday he refused to take the petition, saying it was not petition day. Next morning, at 6 A.M. Mr. Hecquet though still suffering much from the beating he had received, walked up about a mile from the ghat, and called upon the Deputy Magistrate, who said he would receive his petition in cutcherry, where he was going immediately. On arriving at the court Mr. Hecquet was kept in attendance, without even the offer of a chair, till 3 P.M. when at last the Deputy Magistrate condescended to take his deposition, but passed no order whatever in the case. On the 12th the court was closed on account of the Hindoo holiday Dussohorah. On the 13th Mr. Hecquet, who was spitting blood, came in to Dacca to see Dr. Green, who, advised him to communicate the particulars to Mr. Davidson the commissioner of Circuit.—It remains to be seen what steps this gentleman will take.

We ourselves lived for four months in the part of the country in which Mr. Moran's Factories are situated.—Our life was several times threatened.—We applied to the Magistrate for protection, but he declared himself unable to give it. We were therefore forced, in self defence, to keep 50 Lattials continually in our house, at an expense of about Rs.800.

Mr. Hecquet has had witnesses in attendance for one year in the court of the Deputy Magistrate of Manickgunge.

This Deputy Magistrate was a Darogah in Tipperah district, where he distinguished himself by capturing a band of dacoits, for which he was rewarded by a khilat, and a Deputy Magistracy. The post which conveyed his appointment from Calcutta, was crossed by the post from Tipperah, carrying a letter from Mr. Stainforth Commissioner of Circuit of Chittagong stating that the above mentioned case of dacoity had never occurred,—that it had been got up by the Darogah, and innocent men punished.—We call upon Mr. Stainforth to state whether this is the case or not.—The deputy Magistrate is a perfectly illiterate man, who cant write his own decisions. In consequence of this Mr. Halliday has directed that he shall not be submitted to the examinations, which the late rules have directed that all Deputy Magistrates shall pass.—We call upon Mr. Davidson, Commissioner of Circuit of the Dacca Division to state whether this is the case or not.—Is not the cup of Mr. Halliday's misgovernment nearly full? Is the welfare of an immense district to depend upon a man such as described above, rather than that Mr. Halliday should confess that he has made a mistake? Are the people to be oppressed in order that Mr. Hallidays favorites may be provided for? The name of Englishman will strike in the nostrils of the people-it has already begun to stink,—if Mr. Halliday is not soon removed from the Government of Bengal.

21.6.1856

[Zemindars and the Permanent Settlement]

THE BENEVOLENT intention of Lord Cornwallis[১৪] to"promote the future case and happiness of the people."(Sec. VII Reg. I of 1793)[১৫] to make "land the most desirable of all property, and direct the industry of the people to those improvements in Agriculture, which are as essential to their own welfare as to the prosperity of the state,"(Preamble to Reg II of 1793) is declared in 1856, after a trial of sixty three years, to have been frustrated.—It is said, that during the long period the case and happiness of the people have not been promoted; that instead of land being the most desirable, it is the most undesirable of all property, and that no improvement has taken place in agriculture.—It is to be feared that all this is in a great measure true.

Lord Cornwallis expected, that the above improvements would have been carried out by landlords, having a secure tenure, at a fixed rent, laible to no increase "for ever." He therefore declared the jumma of the lands paying Revenue to Government in Bengal Behar, and Orissa, to be fixed "for ever," "irrevocable", and not liable to alteration by any person,whom the Court of Directors may hereafter appoint to the administration of their affairs in this country."—He thought that he had created a landed aristocracy, which, like that of England, would live upon their estates and cultivate and improve them, both for the sake of employment, and for the profit which such improvements would bring.—Why is it that such a class has not

sprung up? Why is it that we have so few gentlemen's country seats; that in fact scarcely a pucka house is seen in the Mofussil, with the exception of those of Indigo Planters? We think this must be ascribed to other causes, rather than to any inherent faults in Lord Cornwallis' plan.

The cause most active in deterring Native Gentlemen from residing in the Mofussil, is undoubtedly the huge corruption, and immense powers of the Police.—No man who has the means to live elsewhere, will live in a country, where he must fawn on, and bribe a man of low caste; nay even that low caste man's inferior servants, to preserve himself from insult, and degradation, to which he is liable at any moment. The lowest ryot who can command an eight anna bit, to pay for the stamp paper for a petition, may subject the most respectable Zemindar in the Mofussil, to the humiliating and expensive visits of the Darogah. In such utter dread are our Police Courts held, that it is no uncommon thing for a rich man to leave his house, with all his family, and set out on a pilgrimage to Benares, rather than be compelled to give evidence in them.—The fear of being subjected to them caused the Europeans scattered through the Mofussil, to combine, and gave birth to the Indigo Planters' Association,[১৬] a society which we would fain hope is destined to do great things for India, and to do more for carrying out Lord Cornwallis intentions, than all the Regulations and Act passed since 1793.—The Zeminders therefore dwell in Calcutta, where they are under the protection of the Supreme Court; and in the large towns, where they have an immediate appeal from the Darogah to the Magistrate, and from the Magistrate to the Judge; and have the support of public opinion, feeble it is true, but still existing, against any very notorious abuse of power. It is a common saying among the natives that he who purchases land must be prepared, like him who steals, to go to prison.

It is notorious that there are no old families in the Mofussil. The land is in the hands of scaracely one family with whom the Perpetual Settlement was made. The process is as follows. A shopkeeper saves a little money, and becomes a Mahajun. Money increases rapidly, when lent at the rate of from sixty to three hundred per cent per annum; and when the time comes that the Mahajun must be gathered to his fathers, his business has increased to that of a considerable dealer in country produce. His son continues it, and at length commences to lend money on mortgage of landed property, of which he ultimately becomes the possessor; but still continues the frugal yet respectable style of living, in which he has spent his days. He however spoils his son terribly. Accustomed to deny himself everything, he denies nothing to his darling. He at length dies. The son, now possesor of his fathers wealth give himself up either to vice, or Fouzdaree, both expensive pleasure. There is nothing use for him to do. We know two neighbours who were always fighting and who kept small armies of lattials in constant pay. An active magistrate, appointed to the district, at length put a stop to their walfare.

Meeting them sometime afterwards he said, "you must be getting quite rich now that all your disputes are settle, which used to cost soon so much." "on the contrary", said they, "We are getting power. When you stopped Fouzdaree we took to the civil courts, and they are much more expensive, and not so exiting." There men were yearly spending thousands, in fighting for what was not worth tens. Why? Because they had nothing else to do.

Employ the Zemindars as justices of the peace. Give them an interest in the Government of the country however small, and we may some day see them residing on their own estates, as country gentle men do in England. What is to become of the young landed proprietor at present receiving an english education in the colleges? We have some in Dacca just now who are as fond of cricket as English boys, who are first rate riders, and who are cleverer at their books.They have large estates. They will not take a School mastership or a Darogaship when they leave college. What is to be done with them.? Heir to an enormous fortune, Sir Raobert Peel himself could have taken to vice or Fouzdaree, if the Premiership of England had not been open to him.

5.7.1856

MR. GRANTS SALE LAW BILL

We consider this bill a masterpiece of legislation. Captain Crawford has written on the subject, and written well, but he has written as a Talukdar. Some of our Dacca Zemindar who petitioned the Legislative council concerning the realization of rents from Talookdars, wrote wholly as Zemindars. Mr. Grant[১৭] known the right and wants of both, and has provided for them ably and justly. *Remacutetigit.* Our only fear is that our present race of collector will not be able properly to look after the rights of Government. But a great reform ought not to be delayed because the servants of the Government are incompetent. [১৮]

17.5.1856

CATTLE TRESPASS BILL

We have not yet seen this bill, as it has not appeared in the Bengalee Government Gazette, which we take in: but from the report of speeches in the Legislative Council, we apprehend that, in future it will be extermely dangerous even to look at an animal trespasing in an indigo field, much more so to attempt to drive it out; as the individual so doing will under himself liable to a suit in the Moonsiff court. Any one who has had the least experience of the heart wearying processes of these sinks of iniquity, would rather sacrifice mounds of Indigo than subject himself to them. Why have we not Indigo Planters in the Legislative Council we should be spared much nonsense if we had.

17.5.1856

INDIGO PLANTER JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

The more of these we have the better, but we should also extend the honor to Zemindars—Though not exactly, as a friend of ours expresses it of opinion that "every sweep should be a Justice of the peace," we think it is the duty of the Government to take care, that no man shall have more then five miles to walk, in order to reach a legalised administrator of justice. In reality he does not walk farther for justice. He goes to the planters Factory or Zemindary cutcherry,— why not recognise and bring under control there courts? [১৯]

17.5.1856

PROPERTY IN THE SOIL

Who is the Proprietor of the soil? It seems to be generally agreed, that the Government of the East India Company, by succeeding to the the various Governments which they have dispossessed, have become absolute proprietors of the soil of the countries which those Governments ruled. It is said, that all Eastern Governments are proprietors of the soil, and that any one who asserts his right to any particular piece of land, ought to be able to show how be obtained such rights from the Government, before his title can be admitted as a valid one. It might be a curious speculation to considor, how far this idea of the property of the soil being vested in the ruling power, was derived from the policy of Joseph in Egypt, during the seven years of famine. When Joseph. as narrated in the 47th Chapter of Genesis , had supplied the people with corn for their money, and when that had failed, he offered still to supply their wants in exchange for their cattle. When he" had also the herds off cattle , " he proposed that they should sell their land to Pharaoh, " only the land of the priests bought he not, for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them: Wherefore they sold not their lands. "

" And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part; except the land of the priests only which became not Pharaoh's "The Governments of this country have exacted from one sixth to one third-the amount is disputed (see Circ, Ord. Sudder Board of Revenue No 190, dated 12th November 1833.) - always excepting the lands belonging to the priests, *Debootur* and *Brumootur*. - But let us leave this speculation and consider what is the case in the provinces permanently settled by Lord Cornwallis. The Zemindar avowedly derives his right from the Government, on condition of his paying a certain tribute, and, on his failure to pay this tribute, his rigthts revert to the Government. Talookdars putneedars Dar-putneedars, Se-putneedars, Izaradare, all hold from the Zemindar. and their rights are forfeited with his, except in cases where the Government has, by special legieslation, given up its rights in favor of certain forms of tenures. But to interrupt the perfection of this theory, there steps in an individual

called the *khoudkhast kadumee* ryot, who has some undedfined perpetual proprietorship in the soil, which he can never lose, not even by failure to pay his rent on the due date. All that the zemindar can do, is to sue him, and if he should, after decree given fail to pay his rent oust him from his tenure. The Zemindar loses his rights in the soil if he does not pay his rent by Sunset of a certain day. The *khoodkhast* ryot may stop all proceedings against himself, however far they may have proceeded, merely by paying what he owes. This man is the absolute propietor of the soil, not Government, not withstanding theory. What is the *khoodkhast* ryot? He is the rental cultivator of the soil. And how does he acquire his rights? By squatting, by erecting a mat but, and ploughing the ground around it. What then becomes of the theory of the property of Government in the soil, and its having made over its rights to the Zemindar on condition of his paying a certain rent. It falls to the ground. The Zemindar cannot ever demand such a rent from him as would force him to leave, or he cannot demand more than the Pergunnah neerik, or the rate that prevails nor lands in the neighborhood; and yet the Zemindar is declared in Reg. VIII of 1793 to be absolute proprietor of the soil. But there is one power that destroys the reghts of the *Khoodkhast* ryot, which does not destroy the rights of the Zemindar, and that is the rivers, which in Bengal carry away such immense tracts of land. Suppose that a zemindar bought an estate at the time of the decenial settlement which was completely occupied by *Khoodkhast* ryots, he could not remove one of them. But of the river carried away the whole of his estate, he still preserved the right to the whole of the land which he originally purchased, provided that he paid the rent to Government. The land re-forms , it all becomes his property, but the holding of the *khoodkhast* ryot does not revert to him. The property in the soil then really belongs to the Government and the Zemindar and not to the *khoodhast ryot*, as the Missionaries and the. "Writer in the ENGLISHMAN" would have us to believe. ..The rupee at present can command the labor of one man for eight days, or eight men for one day. But suppose a great increase of the value of the products of the soil, such as is at present taking place in the Dacca district, the value of the labor which raised these products will rise and the rupee will command the labor of, say only five men, for one day. The income of the Zemindar will be reduced in the proportion of five to eight. - Run a railway through his estate,-the value of labor will rise immensely, say to the English proportion of one man's labor to the rupee. Is the Zemindar, to whom the Government has made over its proprietory rights in the soil, to be the only man in the country who is not to profit by the rise in the value of that soil, or more properly speaking is to suffer loss by the fall in the value of the rupee , for labor is the only standard of value. But it may be said that the Government will suffer in the same proportion as the Zemindar, for it has made over its property in the soil, or a certain fixed sum in money . So it will but make up or that lose in exactly the same way as the Zemindar wishes to do. It will

impose mahoots and abwabs in the shape of import and export duties, tolls, income tax & ---- . But it must be remembered-and we are afraid that our Government originally a trading company, and latterly one established for the benefit of the sons and nephews of the Court of Directors, has forgotten this- that all Governments should be for the benefit of the Governed. No Government had a right to a surplus. They have a right merely to what is required for the administration of justicc to, and the protection of the people. It is not necessary then that the expenditure of the country should increase in the same ratio as its prosperity. But it is necessary, that capital shall have at least the same chance as labor. The man who is a purchaser of a Zemindaree must be a capitalist, The *Khoodkhast* ryot is but a laborer. If we say as our present system does, that the laborer is the only person who is to profit by the increased demand for the products of the soil, the capitalist will cease to invest his capital in the soil, the whole of which will fall into the hands of the Government, which will be put to immensely increased expense for management and the result will accrue which is thus truly and forcibly described by the Government of Bengal so long ago as 1813. Whenever lands are held *khas*, (managed by Government) the almost exclusive management of them is necessarily committed to Native officers, who are entirely desqualified by education and principle, for the discharge of a trust of that nature. In cases of that description, the peasantry are subjected to exaction and the Government to embezzlement, while the lands themselves become every day more and more impoverished, from the want of the fostering care of some person who has an immediate interest in the property. And yet the Government which expressed this opinion in 1818 in 1819 passed the Resumption Laws, and Mr. Halliday we understand at present advocates the cancelling of the Perpetual Settlement. The Government of Bengal seems as far as at this distance of time we can judge, to have been honest up to 1819 . Since that time not even Mr. Marshman can say that it has been so.

No one seems to know what a *khoodkhast kuddumce* ryot is . When the Indigo Planters' Association discussed Mr. Grant's Sale law bill Mr. Theobald said he did not know what he was, and could find no one to tell him the meaning of the word *khoodkhast* is, one who sows the seed himself. We have looked over whe regulations in which he is mentioned and find him, generally in such ... *khoodkhast* ryots or other resident cultivators of the soil. He is evidently a resident cultivator. The next question what length or residence does it require to make a *khoodkhast ryot;* the answer to this is given in circular of the Suddeer Board of revenue No 835 dated 19th Nov. 1850, paragraph 17-"These ryots (the *khoodkhast kuddumee)* being the descendents of those who originally broke up the land, have held at the jumma (rent) now paid since 12 years previous to the Decennial Settlement. They have a lien on the soil beyond wages of labor and profits of stock. By prescription they have a proprietary interest; to raise their rents is to deprive them to that proprietory interest , "In

paragraph 19 it is said that other Talookdars and ryots are liable to assessment at the "market rate". If then it is necessary for a ryot to prove possession for 12 years before the Decennial Settlement to entitle him to the privileges of a *khoodkhast* r,ot, we imagine there are very few who will be able to do so. Indeed Lord William Bentincl tells us, (*Circ, Ord. Sudder Board of Revenue* No 190 . 12 Non. 1833 para. 34) that the result of the investigation, instituted by his orders, into the privileges of the different kinds of cultivators, was, as stated by the Sudder Board, that in most Zemindaree estates, composed of single villages the ryots were mere tenants at will; but that in some of the large Zemindaree estates, there are hereditary ryots in villages who seem to be connected with the land and the parties of whom they pay rent, as individuals in Putteedaree estates, where there was no superior zemindar, were with the Government, before the enactment of the British Regulations. His Lordship to be sure, had a theory, just as the Missionaries and the Writer in the Englishman have, that there was a great number of ryots who had these rights, and ignores the result of the enquiry of the Sudder Board accordingly; but his doing so does not alter the facts, that in 1833 , there were but few ryots having proprietary rights, that there are still fewer now, that all others are liable to assessment at the" market rate, " and that no ryot now can acquire any proprietary rights by " squatting" even though left unmolested for many years. We may therefore go on with our improvements without any fear of that bugbear the *khoodkhast* ryot. No one can acquire any proprietory title in the soil, except by becoming a Zemindar, or *Kharija* Talookdar, or by purchase from the Zemindar, or from one to whom the Zemindar has sold such title.

1.11.1856

Supplement to the DACCA NEWS.
24th January 1857

G. R. BARRY vs Moulavee Abdool Alee and others.
Charge.
Assault, Plunder, Illegally Assembling &c &c.
The humble Petition of George Richard Barry a British subject but at present residing at Serajgunge.

To

C.E. Lance Esq.
Magistrate of Mymensing

Sir,

I have the honor most respectfully, but at the same time most urgently, to solicit your immediate protection to arrest the offer ruin which is impending over me, from the continued and daily increasing acts of lawlessness of Moulavie Abdool Alee, and to beg that you will immediately proceed to the scene of his outrages and see for yourself

what a state the country is in, and what dire oppression I am being subjected to.

We have repeatedly made complaints in the subject of our grievances to Mr Cockburn the Deputy Magistrate within who's jurisdiction of Jamalpore the outrages upon us are being committed, but hitherto our complaints substantiated though they are by the evidence of our witnesses, the evidence of neighbouring villages, the reports of the Police from the spot, and the personal investigation of Mr Cockburn also on the spot, have not met with that attention which the dreadful injustice and oppression we are sufffering under surely warrants.

We have no dispute regarding land or any other matter whatsoever with the defendants, and the only accusation made against us is that we have been sowing the Ryots' paddy lands with indigo. That this is false. Mr. Cockburn the Deputy Magistrate who has ridden all over the country to find out where any Indigo was sown in paddy knows perfectly well: and because he has been on the spot and seen thoroughly into the falseness of the charges made against us and what oppression and ruin we were being subjected to, the defendants seeing themselves detected have complained to you of his being partial, and at their request you have removed all our cases from his hands.

Having done so Sir, we think we are not unreasonable in soliciting that you will not lose a moment in coming to the spot yourself: for it is impossible that you can judge of the truth of matters some 60 miles off. Any number of false cases can be proved at the distance and any amount of oppression made out which would vanish as smoke in half an hour's personal investigation on the spot particularly as Mymensing is thronged with our enemies who make it their business in the courts and by other means to attempt all in their power to poison your ears and those of the judge against us.

From the misreprsentations of these interested parties you may have been led into believing that we have really been acting oppressively towards the ryots ,and for this reason also it is most important for the ends of justice,that you should come to the spot and enquire into and see for youself every act of oppression that we are said to have committed towards the Ryots: and I say fearlessly that for any or every such act I am willing to pay a fine of Rs 500 , and also a like fine for every beegah of Indigo which may have been sown by our servants in paddy.

If Sir, you refuse this our earnest solicitation of coming to the spot, our last hope of obtaining redress is lost: for the defendants taking advantage of your having removed the cases from Mr Cockburn's bands as a favorable sign for themselvs, have recommended such acts of oppression as have never before been heard of and as can only be put a stop , to by your visiting the spot without a moment's loss of time and before delay emboldens them to add the murder of our servants to every other act which they have already committed, and so far with perfect impunity.

We beg most earnestly that you will make an enquiry up on the following point.

1. The cause of dispute between ourselves and Moulavee Abdool Alee.

2. Our relations with him as shareholers in the same estate.

3. The character which we bear and have always borne since we have been in business.

4. The character which Hossain Sircar -- Bheesoo Sircar the two most prominent and active of the Moulavee's out door servants have always borne.

A thorough and searching investigation into all these points made by you personally on the spot will, we are certain convince you of the truth of the follwong statement to which we beg your earnest attention.

We have been Indigo planters &c &c for six years, but during that time have never had one case against us other at Jamalpore, Mymensingh or Manickgunge;and in Serajgunge only one case was instituted against our servants for assault, in which one of them was fined 20 rupees. We mention this as most material to the question of oppression, for when a party employs as we do in our several occupations throughout the year, a daily average number of men exceeding 5,000, it is rather creditable than otherwise that out of this immense establishment of natives, only one case should have been instituted against us in which our servant was fined 20 Rupees for a petty assault.

We are unfortunately not known at Mymensing where our avocations do not render it neccsary for us to appear, and we are therefore the more anxious that you should visit the spot to see for yourself how false are the accusations of oppression which have been and need against us.

The sole and only cause of our being opposed by Moulavee Abdool Alee just now, is to compel us to shut up a factory named Noapara near Serajgunge wiich we purchased last April and obtained quiet possession of.

The Moulavee does not wish us to work this factory because it is too near his cutcherry, and close to the residenee of a rich ryot in the Pergunnah. His head Naib said to me himself that he cared for no Magistrate, Judge, or Collector, in the country— he cared for no decree or aware of Court, and that we should not work the factory, or if we persisted in doing so that he would shut up the whole of our other factories, and this the Moulavee has been in order to compel us to relinquish Noapara factory. This is the whole secret of the Moulvee's opposing us in the manner he is doing.

The Moulavee seeing that on the Serajgunge side of the river we had obtained the effectual protection of the Courts from molestation and oppression, changed his place of attack to the opposite or Jamalpore side, and there gaining confidence in the distance of the Courts from the scene of action commenced a series of the most

oppressive and galling persecutions for the purpose of shutting up our factories, or giving us the option of closing Noapara to be free from molestation elsewhere.

The Moulavee took into his employ Hossain Sircar and Bheesoo Sircar two of the most notorious and daring Lattials and Sirdar dacoits in all India, and also many others of less note but equal in fearlessness of all law.

The records of the Manickgunge, Jamalpore and Mymensing courts will suffice to show the character and position of Hossain Sircar and Bheesoo Sircar.

The first act was the seizure of one of our Gomastahs whom they assaulted and beat most unmercifully taking from him the sum of Rs 195.

They then took possession of the country around our factories and by every expedient in their power endeavoured to stop our work, the means for effecting which consisted in employing armed bands of men to drive our ploughs and coolies off our Indigo lands, (lands regarding which there is no dispute, all our last year's Indigo stumps being on the ground, and most of them being held by us from the Government and other Zemindars, and regarding our right to which they have never once petitioned) in catching and carrying away by force every man or servant in our employ whom they could lay hands upon in plundering our sevants houses in order to compel them to fly from our service, in taking mochulkas from all the villages not to work for us or give us ploughs or coolies as usual for our sowings and weeding , in plundering and beating every Ryot who gave us a plough to terrify them from working for us, in dishonoring their wives and families for the same reason, in plundering our boats and servants as they go about with money and seed, in making false complaint against us, and in fact by every means that violence and law lessness could have recourse to.

The Moulavee's Lattials established cutcherries in all the *sahat annt* and some other villages, so that they had a command of the whole of our cultivation, and it was only necessary for any of our servants to show themselves in the field, for a dunka to be beaten in the nearest village,and then a band of Lattials rushed out and drove off our men, who terrified for their lives ran off as fast as possible. Complaints of these sets are on record and proved, but hitherto we have been able to gain no redress. By the means above detailed the defendants succeeded in establishing a terror amongst our servants and coolies: not a man would work for us , and the factory gomastshs and servants remained hidden in their houses and the jungles, afraid for their lives to appear any where.

In fact our work was stoppod at the most important season of the year, the sowing time.

Mr. Cockburn's arrival on the spot had the effect of putting a spot to all these illegal proccedings but the lull only lasted as long as the gentleman remained near on factories, and matters have gone on from bad to worse ever since his departure, until at last Mr 'O'

Gorman one of the managers of our Concern, after being twice attacked by the Moulavee's Lattials, seeing the dreadful pass of affairs and finding that by remaining any longer he is in the greatest danger of being murdered, has fled from the factories in fear of his life and procceds to Mymensing to lay our most grievous case most fully before you.

The Darogahs of Pingna and Muddoopore were ordered by the Deputy Magistrate to proceed to and remain on the spot for the purpoose of apprehending the defendants, and to see that we were not interfered with in the sowing of our own lands.

When these Darogahs arrived with their establishment of Burkindazes and took up their quarters at Potol, I was in hopes that at last after being harassed and made to suffer the most grievous loss and injustice at the hands of our enemy Moulavee Abdool Alee for months, the day had arrived when his nefarious proceedings would be fully brought to light, and he would, through the instrumentality of the Police, and at the hands of the Magistrate receive the punishment which the unlawful conduct of himself and his servants merits.

It is however with feelings of the greatest indignation and sorrow that I find all our efforts to obtain justice and protection in the Courts are being frustrated by the evident unwillingness or inability of the Police to protect us.

Their presence at the scene of action is a mere farce and worse than useless. They do nothing towards apprehending or dispersing the bands of Lattials, who far from leaving the country upon their arrival, have remained and augmented their numbers. Bands of armed sirdars rove about the country in open daylight before the eyes of the Darogahs and Police, and they tell me that they are powerless, that the Lattials are harboured and entertained by villagers, and that they alone cannot and are afraid to attempt to catch them. That their fears are not unfounded. Mr. O'Gorman and all our servants can depose, for the country is in possession of the Moulavee's Lattials who live in the villages and go about defying the police.'

The Darogah's cuteherry was surrounded a few day ago by some 100 of these men whilst Mr O'Gorman was there . These men rushsd out of Dossicky and Amjanny villages, and yelling and shouting and brandishing spears and swords, spread themselves on two sides to the cutcherry. The Darogahs succeeded in driving them off but it is impossible to say what the results would have been had they persisted in their attack.

However an object was gained by them, for they showed to all the country that they openly defied the Police, and also succeeded in native estimation, in dishonoring and insulting Mr O'Gorman, and thereby insulting me.

The above is a plain unvarnished statement of facts, of the truth of which I beg most respectfully to urge you to convince yourself by coming to the spot: but this is not all. We find that it is hopeless

expecting under existing circumstances that the men who have so grievously wronged us will meet with any punishment whatever. Out of all the defendants summoned by Mr Cockburn in our cases, but one man, Bheesoo Sirkar,has yet been captured by the Police, and this man to our consternation they have managed to allow to escape or been compelled to let loose. The Darogahs state that a few evenings ago their cutcherry was surrounded by a band of 200 or 300 men who forcibly carried off Bheesoo Sirkar, but whether this is a fact or not may be a matter of doubt. Another of the most notorious Lattial Joynall Bhooyan whom our servants recognise as having borne a prominent part in every outrage, but who was not complained against by us because we knew not his name, was also captured on a charge of robberry totally unconnectd with any of our cares. This man was also rescued by his brother Lattials from the hands of the police, and thus two of the many budmashes against us are. when one caught again let loose to renew their acts of outrage and assist in keeping up the spirits of all , by the example they present in themselves of passing unscathed, whatever they may do.

You will see by the above that the Moulavees Lattials are masters of the country, for they have succeeded in forcing many of our servants to fly our service, have dishonored plundered and beaten ther rest, have on two several occasions attacked and insulted one of our European Managers and have gained a greator victory than all perhaps, and obtained more estimation in the eyes of the natives, by their grand coup against the darogahs.

With such acts of daring and such terrible and unpunished violation of all law and decency,it is not wonderful that a panic should be spread all over the country, even amongst villages which are perfectly willing to work for us as usual, but dare not do so.

The consequences of this state of affairs have been to us most ruinous, for we have been totally unable to sow fully one third of our Indigo lands, and what has been sown has been done badly, and without the care which would have been bestowed, had we been allowed to prosecute our work in peace. We have lost a considerable quantity of valuable Indigo seed, which has been plundered from our servants and scattered into the water, and otherwise disposed of. We have lost money by plunder also, and are put to the greatest expense and anxiety of mind by all these causes.

But grievously heavy as has already been our loss, it will be as nothing to the complete and utter ruin with which we are threatened, and which will most inevitably fall upon us, if the oppression of the Moulavee towards us is not, and that at once, effectually put a stop to. As long as this state of things lasts, we shall not be able to induce a single one of our servants to remain at the factories, muchless obatin a single cooly, or wc k man of any description, to guard our Indigo lands from being destroyed, and trampled, and eaten down, by herds of cattle. We shall not be able to weed our lands, and as the Manufacturing time approaches, we shall

find ourselves as completely out of possession of our factories, as though they had never been in existence. In fact we shall be ruined, inevitably and irretrievably ruined and we now look to you for that protection and justice, failing which our only hope will be gone.

The Deputy magistrate of Jamalpore was satisfied of the truth of the whole of our charges, and so will any Magisrate be who comes to the spot.

It is most unjust that the Moulavee, the prime mover of all these ,disturbances should be allowed to oppress us in the manner he is doing with impunity. He is clearly the principal party to blame,and if he is permitted to go on as he has been doing, without being called to account, there will be no chance of matters becoming quiet, particularly as he has again and again forfeited the Mochulka he was called upon to give, for Rs 3000.

In concluding, Sir, I beg again most earnestly to pray. that you will not refuse to proceed to the spot immediately. As the defendants complain against us for oppression, and sowing Indigo in paddy lands, it would be only an act of justice on your part towards them. as well as towards our selves, to come to the spot , see the extent of land sown by us in paddy , and the acts of oppression committed by us in any other respect, and there and then, having satisfied yourself of the truth of the charges, punish us severely: - or on the other hand if you are satisfied that not a particle of oppression has been committed by us, then we may expect justice at your hands ; but from your cutcherry at Mymensing it is not possible that you can judge either of our sufferings or those of the ryots. We do not dread enquiry, we court it and it is only by the Magistrate's coming to the spot that we can hope for redress. You will then be able to judge of the dreadful state that part of your district is in : there ought to be a subdivision about the place for all the gentle men near can depose on oath to the character of the budmashes such as Bheesoo Sircar, Hossain Sircar and other residing there abouts and who carry on their Dacoity and Lattially with impunity from being so completely out of the way of any Magistrate.

November 24th 1856 (Signed) G.R. BARRY
per pro. George C. R. O'Gorman

Sworn to before me this day the 24th November1856.
True copy.
(signed)W. Cockburn
Deputy Magstrate

Ordered to be filed with the records of the case.
W. Cockburn
Deputy Magistrate

Hajaree Judge Ameen on the part of Mr G. A. Barry. Charge.
Moulavee Abdool Alee and others.

Burning our Nolooah factory, and plundering and destroying property to the value of Company's Rs 3798.5.10

The Humble Petition of the Under Signed British subjects, but at present residing at Serajgunge in the district of Mymensing in Bengal.

To

William Cockburn Esq.
Deputy Magistrate of Jamalpore

Sir

We have the honor to solicit your protection from the oppression of Moulavee Abdool Alee which is every day be coming worse and worse, and which must soon terminate in our complete expulsion from our factories if you do not take the most stringent measures for protecting our lives and property. We petitioned the Judge and Magistrate of Mymensing, regarding the state of the district, and the inability of the police to protect us from the oppression of the Moulavee, and solicited their coming to the spot, and taking some stringent measures for giving us the protection of the law, but both these officers have declined to interfere, and have sent you our petitions, and directed us to apply to you for the redress required, as our factories are situated within your subdivision. We have therefore earnesttly to solicit your perusal of our petitions and taking such urgent steps as you may think necessary to proteet us from further molestation.

Since putting in the petitions above alluded to, to the Judge and Magistrate of Myminsing, several fresh outrages have been perpetrated upon our servants several of whose houses, have been plundered, and all their cattle and goods carried off, in order to compell them to leave our service and terrify other people from working for us. One of our factories, Nolooah, has been attacked, plundered of every thing worth removing, and burnt down to the ground, the property carried away plundered and destroyed being to the value of Three thousand seven hundred and ninth eight Rupees five Annas and ten pie, (Company's Rupees 3798.5.10) as per list filed in the case, which we beg to depose is a true and correct list. the day the darogah came to investigate the case, three or four of the witnesses, who had been giving testimony to the outrage committed upon our factory, were in the most open and daring manner possible caught, and carried off by the Moulavee's lattials and their houses plundered, and their cattle and all their property carried away. This is done in order to terrify disinterested parties, and all other persons from giving evidence of the factory having been burnt and plundered by the defendants, and the fear and terror instilled into the whole country, by the daring Acts of Bheesoo, and Hossain Sirkar. is such that scarcely a man will give evidence from terror of the men, and those who have been plundered even, dare not complain for fear of worse consequences, after doing so. We hope Sir, that having come to the spot, you will not fail now to enquire into all the false charges brought against us, for sowing indigo in paddy lands,&c&c, and you will be satisfied, by the result, that while we have not committed one

single act of oppression or injustice, the Moulavie, and his people, to compel us to give up Noaparrah factory, have resorted to a system of plunder and oppression, which we fancy to be unparallelled, in the annals of any Court, and which has resulted in the greatest loss to us.

We trust you will examine all our indigo lands, and satisfy yourself as to the truth of our having been by force prevented from sowing from 1500 to 2000 Begahs of land. Soliciting again at your hands the justice which we have not yet been able to obtain in the apprehension and punishmint of the defendants for their several acts of oppression, and loss suffered by us.

Nollouh

9th December 1856

We havethe honor to be
Sir
Your most obdt. servants

(Signed) G.R. Barry
(Signed) G. C.R. O'Gorman

Ordered that this pertition be filed with the records of the case.

(Signed)W. Cockburn
Deputy Magistrate
True Copy
W. Cockburn

G. R.Barry vs Moulavee Abdool Ale and others.
Charge
Arson. Assault. Plunder Ilegal assembling &c&c.
The Humble Petition of G. R.Barry a British subject but at present residing at Serajgunge

To C. E. Lance Esq.
Magistrate of Myminsing

Sir,

I have the honor to solicit your immediate protection to arrest the utter ruin which is impending over me from the fearful acts of oppression of Moulavee Abdool Allee.

On the 21th November I put in a Petition to you complaining of and most fully showing forth the many illegal proceedings which the Moulavee has had recourse to for the purpose of compelling us to shut up a factory called Noapara (which is situated within the Subdivision of and close to Serajgunge) and denying in toto that we had committed one iota of oppression of injustice upon the Moulavee or his Ryots, and stating that there was no cause of dispute whatever between us further than that it is not the will and pleasure of the Moulavee that we should work Noapara factory. and I also further begged of you to proceed at once to see one of the Moulavee's outrages and there in person investigating into all the charges preferred against us and by us.

You were please to pass over my Petition to Mr Cockburn saying that you did not see any necessity for interfering in the matter, as our complaints lay within the jurisdiction of the Jamalpore Subdivision of which Mr Cockburn was the Deputy Magistrate.

Mr O'Gorman deposed an oath before Mr Cockburn us to the truth of the above mentioned petition.

Subsequently to the Petition being presented to you, seeing that you declined to take up our cases, we petitioned the Judge of Mymensing to direct you to take up our cases and proceed to the spot for the prupose of investigating them; that gentleman informed us that he had no power to direct you to take the cases out of Mr Cockburn's hands and merely sent on our Petition to you for your orders, which, in forwarding the Petition on to Mr Cockburn, were that you saw no cause for interference and requested Mr Cockburn to act as he thought proper.

Mr Cockburn at once left Jamalpore for the purpose of trying our cases on the spot where we have been so sadly oppressed, and is now in camp at Nolooah.

Since putting in the Petitions, above alluded to, to you and the Judge several fresh outrges have been perpetrated upon us and our servants.

One of our factories, Nolooah, has been attacked, plundered of everyting worth removing, and burnt down to the ground, the property carried away, plundered and destroyed being to the value of nearly Rs. 4,000.

Several of our servants houses have been plundered and all their cattle and goods carried off in order to compel them to leave our service and terrify them and other people from working for us.

The day the Darogah came to investigate the case after our factory was burnt and plundered, three or four witnesses who had been giving testimony to the outrage were in the most open and daring manner possible caught and carried off by the moulavee's Sirdars and their houses plundered and their cattle and their property carried away. This was done in order to terrify all people from giving evidence to the factory having been burnt down and plundered by the defendants, and the fear and terror instilled into the whole country by the daring acts of Bheesoo Sircar and Hossain Sircar and their gang is such that scarcely a man will give evidence from terror of these men: and those who have been plundered even, dare not complain for fear of worse consequences after doing so.

Mr Cockburn is on the spot and during investigation into all our cases has found that not our charges are true, and that all the complaints made against us for oppression &c &c are totally false and groundless. He has found out that not a single beegah of Indigo has been sown in Ryots paddy land but on the contrary that we have been made to suffer to most serious loss from having had hundreds of beegahs of indigo completely destroyed by cattle ...

The defendants seeing themselves so completely detected Mr Cockburn have we are led to understand repeatedly within the past

few days petitioned the judge that you should take all our cases out of his hand and try them yourself : this they have resorted to as a last resource thinking that their repeated petitions may have the effect of causing the cases to be taken out of Mr Cockburn's hands and tried at Mymensing.

We have no objection whatever to Mr Cockburn as a Magisterial officer, but seeing the objection and defendants appear to have against him, it is most unpleasant to us that matters should remain in the state they are at present.

We accordingly beg that you will have the goodness to comply with the request of the defendants that you should take up our cases: but not in the manner in which they wish them take up: their object is that our cases should be tried in the Mymensing station which is some sixty miles distant from our factories and where any amount of oppression can be made out by false evidence and irrelevant defamation of us.

We would pray that the cases may be tried upon the spot. and indeed this is our only hope of obtaining redress and therefore we beg most earnestly that you will at once start for the disturbed scene and there give us that justice and protection which we implore. You cannot have put in to you and the Judge, they do not say one word about wishing you to come to the spot, for your doing so would at once expose the falsity of their complaints.

As we have again and again repeated, we do not fear any enquiry, we court it, but it is only by the Magistrate coming to the spot that, we can hope for redress.

Even should you also consider it unnecessary that you should take the cases out of Mr Cockburn's hand we beg most earnestly that you will leave Mymensing and visit the neighbourhood of our factories, and judge for yourself whether we are the oppressors or the oppressed.

A stay of even one day on the spot would most undoubtedly convince you of the truth of all our statements, and put it out of the power of the Defendants to harass us and impugn our characters any longer by petitioning as they are now doing daily, that the cases may be tried at Mymensing.

As our cases will eventually suffer, undoubtedly, if petitions are daily put in to you against Mr Cockburn's repeated partiality it will only be an act of justice on your part, Sir to grant our petition that you should personally visit the spot and see for yourself whether all the charges against -- of sowing Paddy land & C are true or the blackest faleshoods. We accordingly beg once more that you will have the kindness to lose no time in coming to the spot and there fully satisfying yourself on all points.

I have the honor to be
Sir

Nolooah — Your most obedient Servant
December 11th1856 — (signed) G.R. Barry
Magistrate's order.

In accordance with the request contained in this petition I am now at Nolooah the scence of the disturbances enumnerated herein. I have seen the ashes of the two Bungalows which have been burnt down at this factory. I have ridden all over the Indigo lands and Ryots have not been able to show me that their paddy lands have been sown with indigo which is their charge against Mr Barry. Mr Tardivel who has been appointed by the moulavee to examine into the complaints of his Ryots acompanied us over the lands, he is perfectly satisfied with what he saw that the Ryots have no cause for complaint, that in fact Mr Barry has not sown their paddy lands with Indigo, and states moreover that the real cause of quarrel is the purchase of a factory in the Pubna district, which Mr Barry wishes to work and to which the Moulavee objects.

I have thus arrived at the same opinion as has Mr Cockburn, viz: that the Moulavee Abdool Alee has caused his Royots in this part of the district to stop Mr Barry's sowings and otherwise to injure him and then to charge him falsely with oppressvie proccedings. Mr Cockburn is conducting the investigations into the different cases in every proper and suitable manner and I therefore see no reason for taking the cases out of his court, he is now on the spot and can of course finish those invistigations much more quickly than could I distance.

This opinion will now be sent to the Deputy Magistrate for this information and for record with the cases at same time I request that it may be translated for the information of the Moulavee's People and ryots who are Mr Barry's opponents.

Nolloah (signed) C.E.Lance
December 20th 1856 Magistrate
True Copy (Signed) W. Cockburn.
Deputy Magistrate.

Ordered that the above English opinion of the Magistrate be translated into the Vernacular and explained to the Moulavee's people and others concerned.

(signed) W. Cockburn
Deputy Magistrate.

G. R. Barry vs Moolavee Abdool Alee and others
Charge.
Assault, Plunder, Illegally Assembling &c &c.
The Humble Petition of George Richard Barry a British subject: but at present residing at Serajgunge:

To W. Cockburn Esq.
Deputy Magistrate of Jamalpore
Sir

In compliance with your Purwannah to appear before you personally or by Mooktyar to give a security bond of 3000 rupees to keep the peace, I have the honor to state that I have appeared this day for the purpose of complying with your requistion.

At the same time I beg most respectfully to remonstrate against the injustice of the Darogah's Report which has caused you to call me for this security bond, for far from our having had men assembled, we are being most remorselessly persecuted and injured by Moulavee Abdool Alee, who has bands of armed men reigning all over the counry surrounding our factories, to the terror of our servants who are daily deserting our service and also to the terror of the Police who have been repeatedly attacked by them.

Notwithstanding all the oppression we have hitherto suffered and the utter ruin which is impending over us, owing to the persecution of the Moulavee and the corruption of the Police we have hitherto been able to obtain no redress.

The report the Darogahs made of our being Jamaidbust was caused by the following circumstance.

Mr. James Haly arrived at our Chandpara factory ghaut from Serajgunge on his way to Dacca for the purpose of bringing up Treasure. When there he obtained from Mr O Gorman the Paaddle boat that gentleman was living on board of. & made over to Mr O' Gorman the dinghy which he (Mr Haly) had crossed from Serajgunge in.

Mr O'Gorman seeing that the paddle boat was to go Dacca and finding that he could not live in a small dinghy determined upon taking up his residence at the factory, and accordingly sent up his furniture and boxes &c &c by the whole of the Paddle boat mullahs 12 or 15 men. Accompanying these man there were five up-country Burkindazes and Messrs O'Gorman and James Haly, besides the former gentleman's servants and no Lattials of any description were of the party or went to the factory.

After seeing Mr O'Gorman settled at the factory Mr. Haly returned to the paddle boat again accopmpanied by five Burkindazes and his mullahs. On the road he saw the Darogah who was most impertinent and said that he should be obliged to report that a great number of men had landed from one of our boats and gone across country to the factory. Subsquently to this Mr. O'Gorman also saw the Darogah and that officer again repeated his intention of reporting the matter.

This I can depose upon oath to have been the true state of matters and the Darogah was well aware of it, but siding with our enemies he was glad of an opportunity to injure us and has done so.

We have no objection to give a security bond excepting that it will no doubt be taken advantange of by the opposition party to annoy us by endeavouring to make out that we have forfeited our security whilst they themselves have done so repeatedly. attacking our servants and the Police without any notice being taken of it by the Authorities.

I have the honor to be most obedient servant

Jamalpore (Signed) G. R. Barry

Nov. 24 1856 Per pro George C. R. O Gorman

Sworn to before me this day the 12th November 1856

True copy (signed) W. Cockburn Deputy Magistrate.
Moulavee Abdool Allee vs The servants of G. R. Barry .
Charge
Forcibly sowing Indigo Paddy lands..

The humble petition of G. R. Barry a British subject, but at present residing at Serajgunge,

To,
W. Cockburn Esq.
Deputy Magistrate of Jamalpore.
Sir,

I have the honor to bring to your notice that the Darogah of Muddoopore has made a most unjust and false report to you in the above case

Upon the Plaintiffs making a charge against us for sowing Indigo in the Ryots, paddy lands you were pleased to call upon the Ryots to show you that the paddy lands which had been sown with Indigo by us, and after riding over the conutry for some two or three hours the Plaintiffs were unableto point out any Indigo in their paddy lands, and you were perfectly satisfied that the charge was a false and groundless one.

Subsequently to this the Darogah of Muddoopore was ordered to investigate the case, and make a report upon it, and it has just been brought to my notice that Officer has reported to you that he found some four or five Kadahs of paddy lands sown with Indigo by us,

That this is false we beg most earnestly that you will satistisfy yourself; the Darogah we are told never visited the lands at all but at the same time his Report in regarding the very same lands you yourself rode over, and the Darogah is well aware that we have sown no paddy lands with Indigo, but we suppose he must have been bought over buy the Plaintiffs to make the false Report he has done.

We are most anxious that the falsity of this, the only charge against us should be fully investigated; but we beg to protest against the Darogahs report being allowed any credence whatever, and beg to solicit the favor of your ordering the Darogah and the Plaintiffs to show you the lands we are said to have sown, and personally investigating as to whether we have sown Indigo in paddy or not.

It is most important for the ends of justice that you should call upon the Plaintiffs to substantiate their charge (which was made at Jamalpore some fifty miles off) by showing you the lands they say are sown with Indigo, and that you should personally investigate as to the truth of the Darogah's Report that he found four of five Kadahs of Paddy sown with Indigo.

If, on investigation, you believe that we are really guilty of the charge preferred against our servants we beg that you will punish us adequately, but if on the other hand you are satisfied after personal inspection that no Paddy lands whatever have been sown with Indigo, we beg that you will have the kindness to make out a Proceeding showing the falseness of the charge, and also call upon

the Darogah for a justification of the false report he has made, thinking as he did at the time of making it that you would not come down to the spot a second time

Nolooah
9th Decr 1856

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obdt Servt,
(signed) G. R. Barry

(True Copy)

(Signed) W, Cockburn

Deputy Magistrate

Ordered that the Petition be filed with the records of the case, and that the Darogah be ordered to point out to the deputy Magistrate tomorrow morning the paddy lands reported to sown with Indigo.

(Signed) W, Cockburn
DeputyMagistrate
Camp Nollooah 13th December 1856.

As it was necessary for me to come to the spot to investigate the charges of oppression brought against Messrs Mackay Barry & co by the ryots to certain villages in which Moulavee,Abdool Allee of Dacca is a shareholder, the Moulavee having for some months past, in the most illegal manner opposed the Indigo operations of the above mentioned firm on the plea that the Ryots Rice lands were sown down with Indigo, I have visited all the lands that the Ryots have pointed out ot me as their dhan lands sown with Indigo, and the quantity which they show does not amunt to five Beegahs altogether, I saw one kottah and a half only (which was measured in my presence) on which the stubble of Rice remains, but this land Messrs Mackay Barry & co state must have been sown accidentally whilst the adjoining field belonging to them was being sown *cheeta*,. I can accuse them of no oppression from this very small portion of land being sown. The remainder of the lands in question appears to have been all waste land with no corps whatever upon it previously to this season, and Messrs Mackay Barry & Co claim a right to sow waste lands as Ezardars; so that in this instance also it is plain they have committed no oppresion whatever. On the other hand I have seen a number of fields upon which the last season's Indigo stalks are standing sown with Kulie by the Ryots, and a large quantity of Indigo land lying waste which Messrs Mackay Barry &co were prevented from cultivating by the Moulavees Sirdars and Lattials who drove the Factory servants off the fields whenever they appeared, I have also seen several fields in which there was month ago a fine crop of Indigo now entirely and wolfully destroyed by cattle, and it appears to me that the oppression is all on the part of the Moulavee and his people, and for no reason but the one give by Mr Barry, that Messrs Mackay Barry & co have lately purchased an Indigo factory in the Pubna District, which the Moulavee does not wish them to work as it is near to a Cutcherry of his and which he

thinks Messrs Mackav Barry & co will relinquish rather than submit to annoyance and loss in their other factories.

(Signed) W, Cockburn
Deputy Magistrate
Copy.

Rosman Sheikh vs Mohes chunder Rai Naib and othre Servants of Mr Barry's Cutcherry at Belcoochy,.

The prosecutor has given a petition and deposed on oath that on the 14th of Assin, Sepember 29th, while he was engaged in sowing Kalie in a certain Plot of land belonging to him the servants of Mr Barry drove him off, and sowed the land about 4 pakees in all, with indigo,_this petition was presented to the Joint Mgistrate at Pubna it not being known then that he was about to visit the scene of the disputes between Mr Barry and Wahidalee Zemindar. Before the witnesses in support of the Complaint were produced the Joint Magistrate arrived at Belcoochee in Zillah Serajgunge on the 9th of October and on the 10th the Prosecutors witnesses were produced: they merely said that they had seem defendants drive off the Prosecutor; but did not see whether they proceeded to sow the land with indigo or not as they the witnesses went away. The Defendants who were present verbally denied having sown the indigo at all, and stated that they had no claim whatever to the land in question: that they had looked at the land that morning and found that it was sown with Kalai 10 or 12 days under these circumstances . I visited the spot myself and found the whole piece of land sown with it: but on looking closely I found that a little indigo seed had been scattered in one part of the land. The seed had not yet sprouted and had evidently not been on the ground more than two days. It is clear that this is a false case deliberately concocted against Mr Barry's servants by the partisans of Wahidallee in order to harass them; had I not happened to come to the spot the witnesses would no doubt have sworn that the indigo ten days old was now on the land. As I happened to come the witnesses dared not say that they had seen the indigo sown 12 days before, but with some vague hope of supporting his case the prosecutor threw a little seed on the ground 10 days after the date to which his complaint relates. I dismiss his case; and he will be put on his trial for bringing a false and malicious complaint,.

October 11th 1856. (Signed) H. L. Dampier
Camp Belcoochee. O. J. M.

True copy. W. L. Mackenzie
Deputy Magistrate.

24.1 1858

MR. GRANTS SALE LAW BILL

We received a pamphlet entitled" Observations on the new Sale Law Bill by a Member of the British Indian Association" which, if it

does nothing else, shows how very well some of the natives can write English. But for a word here and there betraying the foreigner, this little pamphlet might have been writen by a well educated European. As to the arguments used, they show considerable ingenuity, and may be fairly supposed to advance all that can be said by the Zamindar against the Bill, which it is the object of writer to oppose. Had we been only a Zemindar we might, though perceiving the weakness of some of the arguments used by our author, have been led by self interest, which so easily blinds us all, to agree with him completely: but, happening to be at the same time a Planter and a Talookdar, and in the latter capacity smarting under the payment of a heavy *Salamee*. lately demanded by the purchaser of an estate in which we hold a pretty large talook, our eyes have been opened so as to be able to look at both sides of the question, and after long coutinued and careful inspeetion of those two sides, we must declare in favor of Mr Grants bill, and against the Author of the pamphlet.

But lest we should be in any way misunderstood, we must here declare most unequivocally in favor of the Perpetual Settlement. Any infringement of that measure on the part of our Government, would not only be a violation of the National Faith of Britain which was pledged for its perpetuity, and which has been partially violated and brought into disrepute by the disgraceful Resumption laws; but would be a desannulling of the only settlement of the lands of the country, under which it has prospered. The village system of the North West provinces has fraudulently so or not; it is the disgrace of our courts that fraud should have such power as it has the capitalists having become the proprietors of the villages. The Ryotwary system of Madras has ruined that presidency, as Khas management invariably does the ryots in Bengal. The only part of the country where estates are scarely ever sold, and where. when they are sold with a good title such as that given by the supreme court, they realise prices scarcely surpassed in England or Scotland, is that part of the country which is permanently settled here we would make a remark in our usual style, which is we are afraid open to the accusation of being discursive- we once in a season of great commercial distress made a remark to an eminent lawyer, to the effect that we believed we ought to congratulate him on the increase of fees which would result to him, from the cases which would arise out the numerous failures that had lately taken place. His answer struck us as remarkable. he said," you have no reason to congratulate me. There are always most lawsuits when people are prosperous. When they are poor they generally contrive to settle their disputes among themselves with out coming to us". In Madras the Supreme court lawyers have nothing to do. Is not this alone a proof of the pauperising influence of the ryotwary system? Or of Khas management, which Mr Halliday is so anxious to introduce as the salvation of the ryot, an individuls who is, in spite of the assertions of ill informed Missionaries and would be philanthropists, in the

language of the autheor of the pamphlet before us," better fed, clothed and housed that those in a similar position, either in the Madras Presidency or in the North West Provinces, : and we may add, circumstances, than the peasantry of England or Scotland.

Having thus made our protest in favor, of the permanency of the permanent settlement, " an agreement between the state and its subjects into the mind of anyone not wholly lost to all moral sense, we also wish to record our perfect agreement with Mr Pattle, as quoted by the author of the pamphlet." All interference between landlord and tenant that has not urgent necessity to justify it, should be avoided in all countries. Interests so inseparably and closely connected will always find in their relative advantage the most desirable security, " and it is on this ground that we would refuse to mere squatter upon jungle or new formed lands, any right to permanent occupancy (which say he has by our present laws, being considered a *khoodkhast* ryot) as long as he pays merely the pergunnah neerik. We have known the most valuable speculations put a stop to by this system. We have seen a sugar factory erected at the expense of 810.00, ruined because it was impossible for the zemindar who had erected it in his own zemindaree, to secure the 300 acres in its immediate vicinity at any price. On these lands he proposed to grow the cane to supply the factory, but could not get them, though he was not scrupulous about the means he used. We have known the introduction of a completely new, cultivation into the country being abandoned, because the party wishing to introduce it could not obtain 50 acres in any one spot, suitable for it. But while we depreciate any interference between landlord and tenant, and would leave the latter completely at the mercy of the former; yet, when the tenant has purchased from the landlord the right or occupancy of certain lands has in fact become a talookdar we would extend to him all the protection which Mr Grant's law is calculated to give. Let our friend the author of the pamphlet consider himself in Elysium, or in England, which is exactly the same thing .Let him suppose that as in England, he is proprietor of an estate, which is not endangered four times a year by being liable to be put up for sale for arrears of revenue. Let him suppose that he, has sold a portion of that estate to a tenant who is to pay him a certain quit rent of " feu duty" early he would not surely propose that any dodge should be left open to himself to recede from the bargain he had made with that tenant, and after a certain number of years to repossess himself of the land, enhanced in value as it would be by the improvements effected by his tenant why, this is exactly the course which he accuses Govrernment of pursiuing towards himself "The Perpetual" Settlement was made in haste. We did not know what we were doing the lands are now much more valuable. Let us resume them. Against this he quotes (pp 12 & 13) the opinions of Mr Pattle, whose minute amounts of this that at the time of the settlement we received a valuable consideration, fixed a revenue for a variable one and our own continuance in the country. In like

maner the zemindar who perhaps saves his estate from sale by the *Salamee* which he receives for a Putnee Talook, saves himself from annihlation as a zemindar, and ought to consider himself bound to oppose no measure which may give greater stability to the tenant who holds from him as he does from Government absolutely and independently, off condition of his, on a certain date, paying a certain sum. But if it were not for what is called the hypothecetion of the country to the Government for security of the Revenue the Civil Courts would compel the Zemindar to stick to his agreement, it is only the fear on the part of Government, that that the enforcement of such agreements may lessen the amount of revenue derived from lands encumbered with a multitude of such tenures that induces it to interfere in any way except to enforce the fulfilment or the agreement between the zemindar and the Talookdar.

The objections of the Zemindars to the bill as given by the author of the pamphlet are Ist. That the measure is unconstitutional and ivolves a breach ofthe permanent settlement, What is meant by unconstitutional we do not know, for there being no Indian Constitution. We do not see how anything can be constitutional. It involves no breach of the perpetual settlement. The perpetual settlement was an agreement between Government and the Zemindars that if the latter should pay a certain sum as Reveune, they should become the proprietors of certain lands. now the object of Mr Grant's bill is not at all to interfere between Govenment and the Zemindars, but to compel the Zemindar to perform a contract which he has entered into with another and for which he has received a valuable consideration. If A let his bouse to B, for one year, and should try to oust B. either by force ofraud at the end of six months, becauses he can make a better bargain whth C, the state will interfere, and cause A, to fulfil his bargain with, B without such interference being called unconstitutional. The second objection is that the Bill, without really giving any additional security to under tenure in the country, which will ultimately be fatal alike to it and to the inferior tenures." An estate let out in bona fide under tenures, must be Mr Grants bill the Cellector will take care that the jumma shall not be less than its proportionate share of the Revenue paid by the parent estate at the time the talook is made. It is probable that the Rent to be derived will be considerably more. If the talooks are made with the intention of fraud. it is right that the fraudulent zemindar should suffer for his own wrong doing. The third objection is, that the measuere is uncalled for by any real want of the community. The number of small talooks is increasing daily, and upon the small spots of land thus acquired almost incredible sums are spent by native omlah, merchant' & c.Security for these undertenures is required by those men, who in many cases are forced to pay heavy sums as *salamee* to the unprincipled zemindar, who threatens to commence a suit to resume the talook. A Zemindar near Dacca lately put almost every respectableman in the city under blackmail in this way. We cannot but smile at the remedy against the

Zemindar proposed by our author at page 22, and described by him as very simple . It is to declare the Talookdar entitled to compenation for the less of the rights annihilated by the acts of the Zemindar. Why the act of the Zemindar is to fail to pay h's rent, to let his estate be put up for sale, and to purchase it in the name of a dependent, and reduce himself nominally to the condition of a pauper, from whom the Talookdar shall be entitiled to claim compensation ! The fifth objection of the zemindar is the true cause of his opposition, and is we aknowledge right enough to demand the most careful consideration on the part of our law givers. It is " that the bill in its present form is calculated to increase temptations to fraud, litigation,forgery and perjury to an incalculable extent". In many estates fraudulent claims for talooks would, we know,arise in immense numbers immediately in the Bill becomeing law:our courts would he swamped with cases. *Sunuds. cheetas*, tabuds & c would be forged by the cart load, and the value of landed property would fall in consequeuce of the immense expenditure that would be required in lawsuits for a number of years . This evill would be so great, that we would propose that the bill should not be retrospective, but should refer mainly to talooks to be created, leaving the possessors of those which have been created, to the laws which are already in existence for the establishment of their rights .We would also register under the new law, such talooks as the Zemindar might be induced to confirm either by his sense of justice or by the gentle force of a salamee, which in most instances would not be equal to one tenth of the expense of a lawsuit. It is the fear of the suits before our intensely dilatory and unmitigatedly corrupt courts that we are convinced, the cause of the opposition on the part of the zemindars, to a measure so just and equitable as Mr Grants sale law bill.

We shall probably on a future occasion, take an opportnity of making a few remarks of the nonsense, (we beg his pardon but we cannot help calling it nonsense,) which their author of the pamphlet has written upon the subject of planters and planting, and which the FRIEND OF INDIA knows as little about the country as to have quoted with something like approbation.

21.1.1857

THE RICE QUESTION

We have received a letter from Tipperah signed CURRENT CALAMO, to which we intend to give more prominent notice than we usually vouchsafe to anonymous communications, because it is on a subject on which very erroneous ideas seem to be generally abroad, ideas which are not only dangerous in the present crisis, but which if allowed to have any weight, would be fatal to the prosperity of the country. The writer commences by stating, that during the present crisis men ought to be well fed, " because" says he' we cannot say when we may be required to aid our good Government: " but far from being well fed we are about to perish for want of rice. "Tipperah, says

our correspondent, all along excelled the other parts of Eastern Bengal in rice, with the exception of parts of sylhet, both in quantity and quality. Finest Gobind Bhag, which those who have once tasted will not forget, was procurable at one maund to the rupee and Awoos varied from fortyfive to fifty seers sometimes fifty five to the rupee. but at present *Gobind Bhag* is almost out of the market, and the *Awoos* has dwindled down to thirty seers to the rupee. " This rise is imputed by our correspodent to the fact that a gentleman, whom we will call Z, last cold weather purchased large quantities of rice in the Tipperah districts, where no purchaser to a large extent had ever been known to come before. So much, says CURRENTE CALAMO," were the eating inhabitants(for those who sold were happy in their profits) grieved, that many privately contemplated thrashing Z'smen who carried off the rice from every shop in the district." Our correspondent next insinuates that Z, did not know his own interest as a trader, or instead of exporting rice, he would have imported flougram and other "eatables into tipperah, instead of exporting rice; and says that this trade would have given him a good return.

We would reason with our friend CURRENTE CALAMO. We would beg him to lay aside the memory of his last weeks bazaar bill forget the small balance that remained to him at the end of the month, remember that the greatest good is the good of the greatest number,and reason philosophically with us, which we have no doubt CURRENTE CALAMO is perfectly capable of doing. and first we would beg him to suppose that the, C.C, was not C, C, but Z, Well then he - C, C or Z, has no means of livelihood but that of purchasing on commission for other . He has a large family dependent upon him, perhaps a widowed mother, unmarried sisters, yet helpless brothers. he receives an order to purchase a certain quantity of rice. Is he to say " No! I know that my purchasing the quantity of rice you require is likely in six months to inconvenicnce, C, C and others, of which at the time he would have said so there was no likelihood,and I will not purchase. perish my mother, my sisters, my brothers I will not purchase. The Christrian law places the care of parents next after that of the love and fear of god. If we are not mistaken, the Hindoo law does so likewise, The care of C, C and others or our neighbors, comes next in the category of duties. If so, we submit that Z, would have been wrong in preferring the intersts of C, C, to those to his mother and sisters, but again, Z is to buy for others not for himself, suppose that D, an English, or a French, or an American or a Jewish, or an Armenian, or a Chinese merchant receives letters from his own country, saying that the price of bread-stuffs has risen so high in his native country, that his father and mother and brothers and sisters are perishing for want of food, "Send us food from that land of plenty." Is the father or mother or brother or sister of D, with the family of Z., to perish in order that CURRENTE CALAMO may buy rice at fifty five seers per rupee?— Our correspondent will surely grant us the follwing— that a certain amount of misery becomes the less to each individual of the

human race in proportion as it is distributed over the greatest number of those individuals. Will he say that it is better that D's relations should perish for famine rather than that he, C. C., should get forty nine seers instead of fifty per rupee. It may be his own case next, and D's relations may be revelling in fifty seers to the rupee, while he, C.C.., is starting. Commerce is the channel through which,as between two takes, the waters flow and bring each to the same level. Merchants, agents and traders are as each individual atom of the water, each concerned only about itself, and anxious to attain to its individual level in the flow, but all tending to the same can, that one part of the waters shall not remain at a ligher level than the rest.

But Z. is a purchaser, and all purchasers are supposed (erroneously) to be wealthy men. and it is thought to be shameful in them to raise the price of food to the poor, by purchasing large quantites of grain. We will pass over the fact that Z. is really a man who has not a price to his name—that if he cannot purchase rice, the article required by his empoyers, he will not have food for his own family; and will consider the case of the ryot, the producer of the rice. We shall consider him as he actually existed in the Tipperah district where we have large estates, and ought to be acquainted with his condition. We will suppose that as was actually the case, he has for many years been living from hand to mouth, in consequence of the small demand for the article he produces. By dint of hard labor he has been able to produce food enough for his family in the matter of rice, but in consequcnce of the few price he gets for the only commodity he has to sell — the surplus of his rice crop —he falls into arrears with his landlord, and is subjected to the harassing visits of his peons, each of whom has to be paid for, still farther diminishing his scanty store. He intended to have bought decent clothing for his family, but, though the harvest has been plenteous, the low prices he can procure determine him to submit them for one year longer to the misery of the already rotten rags they are now wearing. A daughter is growing up into womanhood, but her marriage must be deferred, because the low price of rice will not admit of his making the necessary expenditure on the marrige ceremony. A happy time dawns upon him. The Feringhees have taken it into their heads to make spirits out of rice, or there has been a famine in China-The merchants of Calcuttas, ever anxious to add to their stores of wealth hear of these things, and think that a good thing may be done in rice. Z. with the cries of his children for food ever in his cars, and willing to turn an honest penny in any way, so that he may stop those cries, receives large orders for rice. Finding that the established merchants in the various marts cannot supply him quickly or largely enough, he sends out his own agents into the various districts. The ryot by selling direct to them realises a double profit—that of the enhanced value of the commodity in which he deals, and that of middleman who in former years was the only person to whom he could sell . How altered is his condition now.

Sufficient for the sustenance of his family is laid up in store. The landlord's rent is paid even before the due date. New clothes suited to their condition in life are purchased for the family, with perhaps a few little articles of finery for the female members.—Did we say perhaps? Certainly—for we are all under petticoat government.—The daughter is married—and still there is a surplus. What shall he do with the surplus? Why not cultivate the waste lands near his house? To be sure they will cost a good deal to clear them of jungle, but he can now afford to pay for a servant to help him. Many being in the same condition as himself, the rate of wages of servants is raised, for they cannot be procured in sufficient numbers; but the production of articles of food is greatly increased by the extended surface of country brought under cultivation. A greater supply of food being produced prices will fall. C. C. will then be able to feed as cheaply as before. But the ryot finds that he is not now receiving the profits he did before. This leads to the use of manures and machinery in farming operations, so that by their use, the farmer, causing the earth to produce a double increase, is enabled to make the same profit with low prices as he did before with half the produce and high prices. But as a great deal of this produce is exported, that is consumed in a part of the world removed more or less from that part where the objects of consumption are produced, the price of boat hire or gharrie hire is greatly increased, because there are more people who wish to have goods carried than formerly. The boatmen grow rich, but at last their charges rise so high, that the profits of the farmer are consumed but the expense of transit. If men were not anxious each for his own benefit and that only—that is, essentially and abominably selfish—the expense of transit would re-act upon production. The latter would cease first, and the former would soon pine away. But there will always be found men among the boatmen who will be anxious to carry double the quantity that their neighbors do, and in half the time, in order that they may make two rupees while their neighbors make one. This leads to the introduction of machinery, and the Dacca *pulwar* is turned into the English Steamer.—Sam Manjee, becomes Captain Sam of the Steamer *Dall-Bhat*, and his daughter Sreemotee Chokree becomes Miss Sreemotee Sam, whose hand is sought in marriage by young Nawabs, whose fathers have been spendthrifts while Captain Sam was making money.

Have we not drawn a fair picture, and one which must be wished speedily to become a true picture, of the result of leaving natural laws—the laws which have been established by our all-wise Creator, to work out their own results. The results are as certain as that if fire is put into a bale of cotton it will be consumed, or if the livestock is applied to the touch hole of a gun it will explode. It is to be desired that a gun should explode and destroy our enemies when they approach to destroy us. CURRENTE CALAMO'S enemy is hunger. If CURRENTE CALAMO thrash Z's gomastahs, he will be pouring water into the touch hole of the gun which is placed to defend him. Hunger

is harassing him just now, is causing him measiness, is causing an expenditure of his resources. If he thrash Z's Gomastahs he will in the end be conquered by Hunger and his ally Want. If he keeps his powder dry, that is if he act in accordance with the laws of nature and of prudence, he will in the end be conquered. (?) them produce both for himself and then wealth incalculable. The wages they would have obtained in the neighbourhood of a successful sugar factory, would have infinitely counter balanced the miserable pittance they could screw. from land which they had not capital to make produce what it ought to have brought forth, and yet our system erect into a pseudo-proprietorship, which has existence neither in any rational theory nor in fact, the tenure of the very individual who never can improve the land, because he has no capital and who must always tax it to it utmost, giving it no rest, and no manure the substitute for rest, in order to obtain for himself a bare subsistence; instead of allowing the man to cultivate who can make it produce a hundred fold more than it now produces, and who can give to the present peasant cultivator double his present earning in the shape of wages, if he will only cease from being a cottier and became a laborer. The zemindar must be declared the sole proprietor of the soil, whether paying a rent to government in fee simple we care not. We should prefer the latter if we could see our way clearly to it. And the ryot must be declared to be a tenant at will. If he can obtain a lease for a term of years from the zeminder, well and good. Let the law protect his sight to turn him out. It is better to have a race of well-to-do laborers than one of wretched ryot. If every zeminder in Bengal were to eject every ryots. There is yet waste land in the country to accomodate twice their number. But if it is the case that zemindar are anxious to eject ryots, or to oppssre them so far as to cause them to run away. With the exception of one or two district the ryot is a premium in Bengal Missionaries and others actuated by a false benevolence would wish to see all ryots rich and well off. If they know more of mankind they would know that the great majority of men have an absolute incapability of becoming rich. Power riches in to their laps today and to-morrow they are as poor as even.

20.2.1858

PLANTERS' PORTRAITS

The HINDOO PATRIOT has at length brought a specific charge, a charge that can be dealt with, against an individual Planter. It is as follows:—

"There is an indigo factory on the Matabhanga river within six miles of Kishanghur, the capital of the Nuddeah district. It belongs to a gentleman now absent from the country, and is managed by his son, a young man under thirty. The factory, as usual, has talookdaree lands attached to it. This young gentleman has already matured himself in all the tactics of Zemindaree and planting life in Mofussil Bengal. Now our readers hardly be told that nothing is so eagerly desired in mofusail Bengal as the sort of influence which

enable a person to prevent his tenants from seeking justice at the hands of the established authorities and to put himself in the position of those authorities. Mr.—has succeeded in attaining this degree of influence. Native Zemindars attain this influence by sheer force of latthee and law. European landlords and planters have a less expensive and riskful mode of securing it. Their first step is to proclaim in their elika that a perfectly good understanding subsists between them and the Magistgrate of the district. Mr-has done this part of the business most successfully, and he has been aided therein by sundry interchanges of chits between him and Mr. Cockercll, the magistrate. Thus secure in people's fears he has taken the bolder step of taking into his own hands the task of administering the law to his tenants in dependents. His factory contains a prison room, and, is duly furnished with rattan and iron manacles, hand cuffs and the other requisites of Fougdaree administration. A sample or two of the manner of his administration will suffice to show how this sort of honorary magistracy works. A fire broke out in a house, the owner was summoned and fined. A neighbor of the sufferer who had a dispute with him was liable by all rules of mofussil logic and Mofussil ethics to be charged with the net of incendiarism; he was summoned and fined sixty rupees too. A regular account is kept of these fine, which within the first three months of the current year amounted to seven hundred rupees. Corporal punishment is administered in all cases of contumacy, foremost among which are reckoned complaints made in the established authorities. Thirty is the minimum number of stripes awarded at a time and sixty the maximum. No one is to speak of Mr by his name, but he is the *Chota Saheb*. A gwalia who infringed this law was punished with fifty stripes. The marks of stripes are still on the body of this man as well as of

Golab Biswas of Nidirpota who received	30 stripes
Ramchunder Banerjea of Chittersaul "	30 "
Madub Rajhangsee of Betua.............. "	30 "
Dhoney Shek of Moochee Foolharea "	30 "
Modoo Mundul's brother of Foolharea "	30 "
Khooderam Ghose of Gobrapota.......... ."	52 "

To be on good terms with the Magistrate is a great thing. To be known as on good terms with that functionary is a still greater thing. But the greatest thing of all is to create an impression that the Magistrate has a pecuniary interest in the working of the factory. Mr has succeeded in creating the last mentioned impression."

A valued correspondent has given us the following information with regard to the above.

"In the HINDOO PATRIOT of the 26th is an Article headed " Planters' Portraits." It is almost too low, too scurrilous, and too lying to be taken any notice of; but lest you should feel inclined to say a few

words on it, and not knowing the country or parties alluded to, I give you the following notes.

The factory referred to is Hanskolly on the Matabangaha, as he says within 6 miles or a little more of the staion, and the gentlemen is Mr. J. White Junior, a most amiable and very talented young man, who only came to the country a couple of years ago. He is the eldest son of a very well known and much respected gentleman, Mr. John White of Bansbariah, who is at this moment enjoying his *otium cum* at Bansbariah, and not in England, as the lying PATRIOT says—And furthermore neither Mr. W. Senior not his son are honorary Magistrates, nor ever have been. Mr. Forlong is the H,M. for all that part of the country—Mr. Cockerell does not go to Hanskoloy oftener than he goes any where else; but he is a concilliating magistrate, and thinks he best consults the interest and peace of his disrict by having a personal knowledge of, and consequent influence with the lending men in it, who hold, as it were, the strings of peace or strife.- As to the insinuation of Mr White sharing the fines it is a worthy emanation from the lying brain which give birth to the whole article, and in which the seed of dishonesty and fraud matured through generations have found a fertile, soil.- As every thing has its comic side, so White's insisting upon being called Chota Sahab is very rich. Had it been Burra Saheb one could have understood it, but any one who knows the natives must be aware that the prefix Chota in no instance carries honor or respect with it in their eyes- Young White is a most admirable Aritist and spends most of his spare time in painting.

4.9.1858

সমাজ

[সম্পূর্ণ উনিশ শতককে যদি আমরা দুটি পর্বে ভাগ করি— ১৮০০-১৮৫৭ এবং ১৮৫৭-১৯০০, তা'হলে দেখবো, দুটি পর্বে কিছুটা পার্থক্য আছে। দ্বিতীয় পর্বেই বাংলার সমাজ জীবন ক্রমেই জটিল ও কলরব মুখর হয়ে উঠেছিলো, এ সময় প্রসার ঘটেছিলো শিক্ষিত পেশাজীবী বা মধ্যশ্রেণীর এবং সমাজে আধিপত্যকারী শ্রেণী হিসেবে তারা হয়ে উঠেছিলো প্রভাবশালী। ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের সঙ্গে এই শ্রেণীর সহযোগিতা এর একটি কারণ। কিন্তু, কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে শাসক শ্রেণীর সঙ্গে কিছু কিছু স্বার্থ সম্পর্কিত বিষয় নিয়ে সংঘাতেরও সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো এবং বলা যেতে পারে এর ফলে সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো জাতীয়তাবাদী ভাবধারার। এই পর্বের বিভিন্ন সামাজিক আন্দোলন এর প্রমাণ।

'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এ স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই সমাজ বিষয়ক রচনাবলী কম। কারণ, তাদের মূল লক্ষ্যই ছিল জমি, জমিদার, নীলকর ও ইংরেজ শাসনের গুণগান, তবে, অনেক সময় সমাজ বিষয়ক দু'একটি রচনা স্থান পেতো যার থেকে উল্লেখযোগ্য দু'টি সংকলিত হলো।

সমাজ সংস্কার নিয়ে সংকলিত নিবন্ধ দু'টি যুক্ত হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়ের সঙ্গে। এর একটি বিধবা বিবাহ ও অন্যটি গঙ্গা যাত্রা বিষয়ে।

বিধবা বিবাহ প্রসঙ্গ হিন্দু সমাজে অনেক দিন ধরেই আলোচিত হচ্ছিলো। ঈশ্বরচন্দ্র বিদ্যাসাগরের চেষ্টায় ১৮৫৬ সালের ২৬ জুলাই এ বিষয়ে আইন প্রণীত হয়। প্রথম বিধবা বিবাহ করেছিলেন শ্রীশচন্দ্র বিদ্যারত্ন। সংস্কৃত কলেজের কৃতি ছাত্র শ্রীশচন্দ্র পরে মুর্শিদাবাদের জজ পন্ডিত নিযুক্ত হন। পাত্রী ছিলেন দশ বছরের বিধবা কন্যা কালীমতী দেবী, বিয়ে হয় ৭ ডিসেম্বর ১৮৫৬ সালে।

আইন পাশ করেই বিধবা বিবাহ চালু করা যায় নি। ঈশ্বরচন্দ্র ও তাঁর সহকর্মী সংস্কারকদের এ জন্য প্রচুর নিগ্রহ সহ্য করতে হয়েছে। কিন্তু সংস্কারের বাঁধ তারা ভাঙতে পেরেছিলেন। ১৮৭০-৭১ সালে ছোট ভাই শম্ভুচন্দ্রকে তিনি লিখেছিলেন—

"আমি বিধবা বিবাহের প্রবর্তক; আমি উদ্যোগ করিয়া অনেকের বিবাহ দিয়াছি, এমন স্থলে আমার পুত্র বিধবা বিবাহ না করিয়া কুমারী বিবাহ করিলে, আমি লোকের নিকট মুখ দেখাইতে পারিতাম না। ভদ্রসমাজে নিতান্ত হেয় ও অশ্রদ্ধেয় হইতাম।...

বিধবা বিবাহ প্রবর্তন আমার জীবনের সর্ব প্রধান সৎ কর্ম। এ জন্মে যে ইহা অপেক্ষা অধিকতর আর কোনও সৎকর্ম করিতে পারিব, তাহার সম্ভাবনা নাই। এই বিষয়ের জন্য সর্বস্বান্ত হইয়াছি এবং আবশ্যক হইলে প্রাণান্ত স্বীকারেও পরাঙ্মুখ নহি।.... আমি দেশাচারের নিতান্ত দাস নহি; নিজের বা সমাজের মঙ্গলের নিমিত্ত যাহা উচিত বা আবশ্যক বোধ হইবে তাহা করিব, লোকের বা কুটুম্বের ভয়ে কদাচ সঙ্কুচিত হইব না।"[১]

ঘাট মার্ডারস' বলতে গঙ্গা যাত্রা বা 'অর্ন্তজলি' যাত্রা কে দেখানো হয়েছে। এ প্রথা পরে প্রায় বিলুপ্ত হয়ে যায়। তবে, এবিষয়ে পত্রিকার যে মন্তব্যটি উল্লেখযোগ্য তা' হলো, ঢাকায় মানুষ এ ধরনের নির্দয় আচরণ করা থেকে বিরত থাকতো যা করছে কলকাতা ও আশেপাশের অঞ্চলের মানুষজন এবং হিন্দু সমাজের এ কলুষ দূর করার কথাই বলা হয়েছে। তবে, সংকলিত দু'টি নিবন্ধে একটি মনোভঙ্গী স্পষ্ট হয়ে উঠেছে তা' অভিভাবকত্ববাদের।

তথ্যপঞ্জি

১. ঈশ্বরচন্দ্র বিদ্যাসাগর (১৮২০-৯১) ও তাঁর কর্মজীবন সম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন- বিনয় ঘোষ, *বিদ্যাসাগর ও বাঙালী সমাজ,* তিনখন্ড, কলকাতা, ১৩৬৪, ১৩৬৬।

সংকলন

WIDOW MARRAIGE AGAIN

A circumstance occured in Dacca the other day, which proves the truth of what we have said on more than one occassion, and what—if our testimony, living on the spot as we do, and association of intimately with the natives, is not strong enough—what the Times has said, and surely no Englishmen will dispute what the Time says—that we are more Hindoo than the Hindoo themselves.

In Dacca about sixteen years ago a high caste brahmin married a widow. As a necessary consequence of this act he was excommunicated. In process of time the widow gave birth to a son, who was from his birth of course a pariah, a person without caste at all, and as such lower than the lowest sweeper. The father and mother died, and the boy still continued an outcast from his race. About a fortnight ago, a great meeting of Brahmins was held, and the boy was, with all ceremony, admitted into caste, the Brahmins eating with him, and doing all that was necessary to constitute him a member of their body. There was, as many be supposed, an opposing party, for where was their ever unanimity among men, especially on religious subjects......we imagine that had they spoken out their real reasons, they would have been something of this sort. "Do we not know the misery caused to our dearest relatives by the laws which condemn a girl perhaps left a widow as a child, by the absurd laws prescribing celibacy and the hardships of the Ekadossee?...... Let, it be remembered that each man who has eaten with the outcast, has himself became, by the very act, an outcast. Farther, if any one of the the orthodox party at any future time eat with one of those who's thus become an outcast, he also becomes an outcast. In the institution of caste one must either be perfectly pure or impure. The impure being the great majority. We have great hopes that the cause of nature and reason may triumph.

17.1.1857

GHAT MURDERS

The HURKARU has very properly called our attention at this time, when we are undergoing such a terrible visitation for having so long not only winked at, but encouraged in their practices the votaries of a devilish superstition, to the subject of Ghat Murders, which are neither more or less than parricide and fratricide committed under the sanction of religion. As many may be ignorant of what we mean by Ghat Murders we shall endeavor to explain.—When a Hindoo is very ill, whatever may be his age or the strength of his constitution, of the ignorant Bengalee koberaj (doctor) declare that he is likley to die, and he be a wealthy man, one who has something to leave to expectant relatives, he is put into a palanquin, and preceded by barbarous music, is carried down to the banks of the Ganges and there laid, regardless of rising tides, to die. If he should evince signs

of returning animation, his mouth and nostrils are filled with mud from the sacred stream. Should he, in spite of all those means used to produce his death, still survive, which it is hardly probable that one in ten thousand men should do he is still excommunicated from caste, deprived of all his wealth, his wife and family, and condemned to live a life separate from his fellow men, and all that renders life endurable. We ourselves have seen a man in the household of the late Dwarkanauth Togore[20] who had been carried to the ghat, a good Hindoo, but who managed to crawl from it an outcast, to be received,- not by his own wife or children or family-but by Dwarkanauth, who though himself excommunicated by a member of his family, which was itself excommunicate, was yet considered a fit associate by the queen of England and by numbers of the nobles of that land. The man we allude to had been carried to the ghat as dying,his mouth and nostrils had been stuffed with mud. During the night he managed to creep to the door of the house of which he was the owner. He called upon his own wife—his own children, to open—but no! He ought to have died, that they might enjoy his riches. He was turned away, and had for the rest of his life to exist upon the charity of a stranger, while his riches were devoured by his own children. It is a common expression among the Bengaless, when speaking to an Englishman about his having left his native country and come so far for the purpose of gaining riches, that our mothers could have had no natural affection (*mayah.*) or they would not have permitted us to go so far from them. But what is the mayah of a mother who abhors her own son when, as it were, restored to her from the grave. How can she pretend to natural affection? She has turned as did the Heathen world of old, to the "things which are against nature."—Is it to be believed that under a Government of Englishmen—not to say Christians—for the name of Christ has not been permitted to be named in this land for the last hundred years, least it should prove a spell to cause the edifice raised by the Company to crumble into dust—but will it be belived that under an English Government, there was no law to restore to this man that which was his own, and had been forcibly taken from him by those who did there utmost to murder him, but failed? It may not be believed at home but such was the case. THE PREJUDICE AND RELIGION OF THE NATIVES MUST NOT BE INTERFERED WITH. We see that it is boasted in England that we abolished Suttee.[২১] This is not the case. It was the Natives themselves, with Rammohun Roy[২২] as leader, that did away with that great crime. We have never made an advance that has not been demanded by the natives. There has been no propagandism on our part. There has been great opposition to propagandism of all sorts. Our maxim has always been *quieta non movere* and we have made the most enormous sacrifices to that principle. We have sacrificed to it our God and all the traditions, of our country—and what has been the fruit of the sacrifice? As we had sown the wind, so we are now reaping the whirlwind.

We have said, with regard to ghat murders, that it is only when the victim has something to leave behind him or there is some other reason for getting him out of the way, that they take place. It would be a foul scandal on human nture to say that they were universal or even general. The coolie who has nothing to gain by the death of his mother, but who remembers with gratitude the dinners she has cooked for him, and who hopes, it she recover, to eat as good dinners again, is anxious to restore his mother to life; and when she does die, in his grief he scarce believes in her death. It is only those who have to gain from the death of their relations who are particular about murdering them by the banks of the Ganges.

But there is another particular to be remarked, and that one to which we would most particularly direct the attention of the British nation, which is this—that those murders do not take place except in those parts of the country which have been longest under the dominion of the East India Company. If, in Dacca, a native were proved than on his father's making some sign of resistance, his mouth and nostrils were filled with mud,—that native would be convicted of murder and hung. Not only so, but we believe there is not a native in Dacca whether Mussulman or Hindoo who would not prevent the murder, if he saw it taking place. But in Calcutta in the Kishnaghur district at Benares, these things are not only daily done in the sight of both European and native, but are considered to be acts of worship which the European thinks connot be interfered with, or put a stop to. without endangering our empire in the East; and the natives believe to be highly meritorious when performed on the banks of the Hooghly, but sinful when performed on those of the Berhampooter. But on the bank of the latter river there are spots sacred by tradition, if not more so than those on the Hooghly. The Brumhapootra (called by the English Berhampooter) the translation of which is the Son of God, is believed to be the cleanser from all sin; but still, men who have been born and bred on its banks refuse to die there, and prefer to travel in old age or in sickness to the banks of the less sacred Ganges. Why has the less sacred Ganges acquired such sanctity now-a days. We are afraid we must answer that it is in consequence of the English, the Governors of the country, having sanctioned on its banks the commission of deadly crimes, which the very people themselves would not permit elsewhere. A certain savage tribe is said to eat all the old people when they become useless. It is the same feeling which induces the mild and gentle Hindoo—that Bengalee who has been educated at our Colleges and pretends to so much enlightenment—the editor of the HINDOO PATRIOT for example, to carry to the banks of the Hooghly his own father and there to murder him in the name of Religion.

Are we, we would ask, doing our duty as a Christian people, or even as a moral people who pretend to adopt as a principle, "the greatest good of the greatest number"—are we doing our duty while we not only permit but encourage the existence of wholesale murder under our rule ?We are neither Christian nor moral; nor will we be so

as long as that Company exists, whose policy for the last hundred years has been to ignore both Christianity and morality, so far at any rate as they have anything to do with its Government;—the ex-chairman of which, as the FRIEND OF INDIA told us last week, even at the time of the height of the rebellion hoped for nothing and saw nothing but, "thank God we are rid of the saints" and with them of course of all saintly or Christain, policy.—He was mistaken. We can exclaim with greater truth "thank God we are rid of the atheists, those who lived without God in the world." With the inauguration of a new policy, which shall acknowledge the Christian to be the only true religion, and strive forward by every means which persuasion and the "foolishness of preaching" can bring into the field; let us, with the inauguration of this policy, communciate that he who in any possible way, or under any possible pretence whether religious or otherwise,assists in the death of another, should suffer the punishment of death whether he be principal or an accessory. This would include both the guilty parties, and the European who stood and looked on and refused to interfere with the "religious" ceremony. It may be thought that we are premature in supposing that the time is near at land, when the Government of this country will announce itself to be a Christian Government. The Press is Gagged, and cannot tell the public here what is going on at home. But this is what has been determined upon by the voice of the English nation, as declared by the universal Press headed by the TIMES, from every pulpit upon the Humiliation day and by every member of parliament who has been speaking to his constituents in the country during the recess.—And then, when the Government fears and worships God and not the devil,—then and then only will Ghat Murders cease.

12.12.1857

শিক্ষা

[শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা নিয়ে গত দুশো বছর ধরে যে পরীক্ষা-নীরিক্ষা চলছে, এখনো তার অবসান হয় নি। ঔপনিবেশিক শাসকরা প্রথম দিকে বাংলা শিক্ষার ব্যাপারে কোন মনোযোগ দেন নি। প্রচলিত ছিল তখনও সেই পুরনো আমলের পদ্ধতি- মাদ্রাসা, মক্তব, পাঠশালা বা টোল চতুস্পাঠী। সরকারী ভাষা ছিল ফার্সী, পাশ্চাত্য কোন ভাষা শিক্ষার কথা তখনও কেউ তেমন ভাবে ভাবেনি। ক্রমে ফার্সি অবলুপ্ত হয়ে ইংরেজি দখল করে নিয়েছিলো প্রধান ভাষার স্থান। কিন্তু, উনিশ শতকে যখন প্রতিষ্ঠানিক ভাবে ইংরেজি শিক্ষা দেয়া হচ্ছিলো তখনও কিন্তু সমান্তরালভাবে এসব প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলি টিকেছিলো।

উনিশ শতকের গোড়া থেকেই ভাষা, শিক্ষাপদ্ধতি ইত্যাদি নিয়ে সূত্রপাত হয়েছিলো বিতর্কের, তাছাড়া শিক্ষার ব্যয় কে বহন করবে তা নিয়েও দ্বন্ধ ছিল। ইংরেজ সরকার প্রথমদিকে এ ভার এড়িয়ে চলতে চাইলেও অন্তিমে অনেকাংশে তাকে বাধ্য করা হয়েছিলো শিক্ষার ভার বহন করতে।

বাঙালি এক আধটু ইংরেজি শিখছিলো সেই আঠারো শতক থেকে যখন প্রয়োজনে তাকে আসতে হয়েছিলো ইংরেজদের সংস্পর্শে। ১৮১৭ সালে কলকাতায় হিন্দু কলেজ স্থাপিত হওয়ার পরই বলা যেতে পারে শুরু হয়েছিলো প্রকৃত প্রাতিষ্ঠানিকভাবে ইংরেজি শিক্ষার। তবে, এর প্রতিক্রিয়া হয়েছিলো প্রবল। পাশ্চাত্য সভ্যতা রোধে প্রধান আক্রমণের বস্তু হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছিলো পাশ্চাত্য ভাষা। এমনকি বিভেদ সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো ইংরেজ প্রশাসকদের মধ্যে। যারা গ্রহণ করেছিলেন পাশ্চাত্য ভাষা বা শিক্ষা, সামাজিক সম্মান বা বিত্তের ক্ষেত্রে তারা এগিয়ে গিয়েছিলেন। সম্প্রদায়গতভাবে এর সুফলটা পেয়েছিলেন হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়। কিন্তু, হিন্দু সমাজেও এর প্রবল প্রতিক্রিয়া হয়েছিলো। কারণ, এ শিক্ষা কুলবৃত্তি বা অনেক ক্ষেত্রে বর্ণ আর সামাজিক স্বীকৃতির ক্ষেত্রে অন্তরায় সৃষ্টি করতে পারছিলো না। অন্যদিকে, মুসলমানরা সম্প্রদায়গতভাবেই পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষাকে প্রত্যাখ্যান করেছিলেন। পাশ্চাত্য ভাষা, সভ্যতা গ্রহণ বা প্রত্যাখ্যান নিয়ে যে দ্বন্ধ অন্তিমে তাই হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছিলো বাংলায় একটি সম্প্রদায়ের উত্থান ও অপর একটি সম্প্রদায়ের অবনতির প্রধান কারণ যা পরে ইন্ধন যুগিয়েছে সাম্প্রদায়িক সৌহার্দ্য বিনাশে। তবে, এও উল্লেখ্য যে ইংরেজি ভাষা নিয়ে উন্মাদনা কেটে যাওয়ার পর শিক্ষিত সমাজ এর পাশাপাশি বাংলাকে প্রতিষ্ঠা করারও আহবান জানিয়েছিলেন।

শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের নীতি নির্ধারণে অনেকটা সাহায্য করেছিলেন মেকলে। তিনি প্রাচ্য শিক্ষার পক্ষপাতীদের [যার মধ্যে অনেক ইংরেজ

সিভিলিয়নও ছিলেন] বক্তব্য খণ্ডন করে বলেছিলেন এ দেশের শিক্ষানীতির উদ্দেশ্য হওয়া উচিত এমন একটি মধ্যশ্রেণী গড়ে তোলা- "Who may be interpreters between us and millions whom we govern-a class of persons Indian in colours and blood, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." ফিল্টারেশন থিয়োরী বা বিদ্যা উপর থেকে চুঁইয়ে আসবে নীচে-এ তত্ত্বেরও প্রবক্তা ছিলেন তিনি। বাঙলার শিক্ষার ইতিহাসে উইলিয়াম অ্যাডামের নামও উল্লেখ্য। লর্ড বেন্টিংক অ্যাডামকে ১৮৩৫ সালে নিয়োগ করেছিলেন বাংলার শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা পর্যালোচনা করে তার ওপর রিপোর্ট প্রদান করতে। ১৮৩৫ থেকে ১৮৩৮ এর মধ্যে অ্যাডাম তিনটি রিপোর্ট পেশ করেছিলেন। এতো তথ্য বহুল রিপোর্ট পরবর্তীকালে খুব কমই প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। অ্যাডামও ছিলেন চুঁইয়ে পড়া তত্ত্বের সমর্থক।

১৮৫৪ সালের পর বলা যেতে পারে ইংরেজ সরকারের শিক্ষানীতি একটি সংহত রূপ ধারণ করেছিলো। এ নীতির ভিত্তি ছিল ১৮৫৪ সালে স্যার চার্লস উডের এডুকেশন ডেসপ্যাচ। নিম্ন পর্যায় থেকে উচ্চ পর্যায় পর্যন্ত শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা কি হবে তার একটি রূপরেখা প্রদান করেছিলো এ ডেসপ্যাচ। এ প্রসঙ্গে লিখেছেন রমেশচন্দ্র মিত্র—

Education was ostentatiously recognised as one of the sacred duties of the Government. The neglect of vernacular was deplored. The Filtration theory was repudiated at least, in its extreme form. It was toned down to one of concession and liberal compromise. The higher classes were called upon to bear a considerable part of the cost of their education, so that the funds thus released could be devoted to the hitherto neglected task of spreading "useful practical knowledge suited to every station of life, to the great man of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worth the name by their own unaided effort." The broad principle of "English for the select few and vernacular for the massess" was adopted.[১]

বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় স্থাপনের কথাও বলা হয়েছেলো এ ডেসপ্যাচে। এর ফলেই ১৮৫৭ সালে স্থাপিত হয়েছিলো কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় যার ফলে ইংরেজি শিক্ষার প্রসারের ভিত্তি হয়েছিলো আরো জোরদার। 'গ্রান্ট ইন এইড' প্রচলনের কথাও বলা হয়েছিলো এই ডেসপ্যাচে।

পরবর্তী পঞ্চাশ বছর উডের প্রস্তাবের ভিত্তিতেই কমবেশী পরিচালিত হয়েছে সরকারী নীতি। সরকার শিক্ষা পরিচালনার ভার নিয়েছিলেন বটে কিন্তু শিক্ষার ব্যয় ভারের বেশ খানিকটা চাপিয়ে দিয়েছিলেন বাঙালির ওপর। এবং তা পালিতও হয়েছে, বাংলার বিভিন্ন মফস্বল শহরের বনেদী স্কুল কলেজগুলি এখনও তার সাক্ষী।

সরকারী শিক্ষা কাঠামোটাও দেখা যাক। উচ্চতর শিক্ষা বিভক্ত ছিল দুভাগে- মাধ্যমিক ও কলেজ। শেষোক্তটির শেষ পর্যায় ছিল কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়। মাধ্যমিক

পর্যায়কে বিভিক্ত করা যায় দুভাগে-মিডল এবং হাইস্কুলে। বাংলায় মিডল স্কুল বিভক্ত ছিল আবার দু'ভাগে-মিডল ইংলিশ এবং মিডল ভার্ণাকুলার। মিডল স্কুলের এক ধাপ উঁচুতে ছিল হাই ইংলিশ স্কুল যা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের এন্ট্রান্স পরীক্ষার জন্য তৈরী করতো ছাত্রদের। প্রায় প্রত্যেকটি জেলা সদরে ছিল এ ধরনের স্কুল যেগুলিকে সাধারণভাবে অভিহিত করা হত জেলা স্কুল বলে। সাধারণত ইংরেজিতেই এসব স্কুলে শিক্ষা দেয়া হতো। কলেজের মধ্যে প্রথম শ্রেণীর কলেজ চালু ছিল বি.এ ও এম.এ কোর্স। দ্বিতীয় শ্রেণীর কলেজে শুধু ফার্স্ট আর্টস এখানে উল্লেখ্য যে, মাধ্যমিক পর্যায়ের শিক্ষা আগ্রহের সৃষ্টি করেছিলো। কারণ, এ পর্যায়টি শেষ করলে অন্তত একটি নিম্ন পর্যায়ের চাকরির আশা ছিল।

এ প্রসঙ্গে মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের কথা বিশেষ ভাবে উল্লেখ্য, কারণ, বাংলাদেশের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ ছিলেন তারা।

আগেই উল্লেখ করেছি, পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষা গ্রহণে মুসলমানরা আগ্রহ দেখাননি এবং তাদের অনাগ্রহ তৎকালীন অনেক মুসলমান নেতার চোখ এড়িয়ে যায়নি। সর্বভারতীয় পটভূমিকায় সৈয়দ আহমেদ এ ব্যাপারে অগ্রণী ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন। তাঁর উদ্দেশ্য ছিল দ্বিবিধ, মুসলমানদের সঙ্গে ইংরেজদের সম্প্রীতি সহযোগিতা গড়ে তোলা যাতে সম্প্রদায়গতভাবে সুযোগ সুবিধা লাভ করে পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষা গ্রহণ যার ফলে ঐ সব সুবিধা লাভে অগ্রাধিকার পাওয়া যাবে। বাংলার পটভূমিকায় একই ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন আব্দুল লতিফ। উনিশ শতকের মধ্যভাগ থেকেই তিনি এ ব্যাপারে আগ্রহী হয়ে উঠেছিলেন এবং এ কারণে অনেকে তাঁকে কাফের আখ্যা দিতেও দ্বিধা করেনি।[৩] সম্প্রদায়গতভাবে যাতে মুসলমানরা পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষা লাভের সুযোগ পায় এবং নিজেদের উন্নতি করতে পারে সে জন্য আবদুল লতিফ দু'ভাবে অগ্রসর হয়েছিলেন। সরকারের সঙ্গে তাঁর যোগাযোগ ছিল এবং সে প্রভাব খাটিয়ে ও মতামত সৃষ্টি করে তিনি সহায়তা করেছিলেন কলকাতা মাদ্রাসায় ইঙ্গ-ফরাসী বিভাগ খুলতে, বাঙালী মুসলমানের উচ্চতর ইংরেজী শিক্ষার সুযোগ সৃষ্টি করতে এবং হিন্দু কলেজকে প্রেসিডেন্সী কলেজে রূপান্তরিত করতে যাতে মুসলমানরা সেখানে অধ্যয়নের সুযোগ পান। অন্যদিকে, যাতে এসব উদ্দেশ্য সফল হয় তার জন্যে জড়িয়ে পড়েছিলেন সাংগঠনিক কর্মকাণ্ডে। ১৮৬৬ সালে প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছিলেন তিনি মহামেডান লিটারেরি সোসাইটি। ভারতীয় মুসলমানদের এ ধরনের সংগঠন ছিল প্রথম, এ সমিতির লক্ষ্য ছিল "আলোচনা ও রচনা পাঠের মাধ্যমে বাঙালী মুসলমান সমাজে পাশ্চাত্য ভাবধারার ঘনিষ্ঠ পরিচয় দান এবং নিজেদের চিন্তাধারার উন্নতি ও বিকাশ সাধন, আর উপদেষ্টা সমিতির মাধ্যমে বিভিন্ন সময়ে সরকারকে নানা পরামর্শ দান।"[৪]

এর বিপরীতে ১৮৭৭ সালে সৈয়দ আমীর আলীর নেতৃত্বে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিলো ন্যাশনাল মহামেডান এসোসিয়েশন। মূল উদ্দেশ্য এক থাকলেও সংগঠন দুটিতে

খানিকটা পার্থক্য ছিল, প্রথমোক্তটি সম্পূর্ণভাবে সরকারের আশ্রয়ে থেকে সুবিধা গ্রহণ করতে চেয়েছে। শেষোক্তটি "বাঙালী হিন্দু মধ্যবিত্তের মধ্যে ইংরেজ বিরোধী চেতনা বিকাশের উদ্দেশ্যে যেসব সভাসমিতি গঠিত হয়", তার সঙ্গে যোগ দিতে দ্বিধা করেনি।

তাদের এ প্রচেষ্টার ফলে, মুসলমানদের পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষা গ্রহণ বিষয়ে সরকার গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছিলেন। ১৮৭১ সাল থেকে ১৮৮৫ পর্যন্ত শিক্ষা বিষয়ে যে সরকারী প্রস্তাব গৃহীত হয় তার সব কটিতেই মুসলমান সমাজে শিক্ষা প্রসারের উদ্দেশ্য কতকগুলো ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বনের সুপারিশ করা হয়েছিলো।[৫] এবং এর সুফলও মুসলমানরা পেয়েছিলেন। কিন্তু সমগ্র মুসলমান জনসংখ্যার তুলনায় পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষায় শিক্ষিত মুসলমানের হার এত স্বল্প ছিল যে উল্লেখ করার মত নয়। তবুও বলা যেতে পারে, এ সময়ই বাঙালি মুসলমান মধ্যবিত্তের ভিত্তিটি মাত্র স্থাপিত হয়েছিলো এবং আরো প্রায় অর্ধশতক লেগেছিলো তা বিকশিত হতে।

সামগ্রিকভাবে দেখলে, বলা যেতে পারে, আমার আলোচ্য সময়ে, ইংরেজি শিক্ষার প্রতি আগ্রহ বাড়ছিলো এবং উনিশ শতকের শেষের দিকে এটিই স্বাভাবিক হয়ে উঠছিলো। জমির ওপর পুরোপুরি নির্ভর করতে না পেরে মধ্যস্বত্বের অধিকারীর সন্তানরা বিভিন্ন হাই স্কুলে ভীড় জমিয়েছিলো এবং সরকারী চাকুরি পাবার আশায় শিখছিলো ইংরেজি। এ জন্য তাদের প্রয়োজন মিটিয়েছিলো, বিভিন্ন জেলাস্কুল বা কলেজিয়েট বা পোগজ স্কুলের মত কিছু স্কুল এবং ঢাকা কলেজ।

উনিশ শতকের মধ্যভাগ থেকে ঢাকা হয়ে উঠেছিলো পূর্ববঙ্গের প্রধান শিক্ষা কেন্দ্র। ঢাকা নিউজের সংকলিত সংবাদগুলিতে আমরা পাই সামগ্রিকভাবে শিক্ষা সম্পর্কে বণিক ইংরেজদের বিক্ষিপ্ত চিন্তা, নতুন স্কুল প্রতিষ্ঠার প্রচেষ্টা ইত্যাদি। ১৮৫৭ সালেও দেখা যাচ্ছে, পাবনায় কোন মুসলমান ইংরেজি শিক্ষা গ্রহণ করলে তাকে একঘরে করা হচ্ছে।]

তথ্যপঞ্জি

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২. Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community in Bengal*, Dacca, 1974, pp. 48-49.

৩. আনিসুজ্জামান, *মুসলিম মানস ও বাংলা সাহিত্য*, ঢাকা, ১৯৬৪, পৃ. ৮৪।

৪. *ঐ*।

৫. *ঐ*, পৃ. ৮৯।

সংকলন

[Raising the College Fees]

WHEN the question of raising the College fees was first mooted, we gave it our cordial support; chiefly for the reasons, that the College was overcrowded and could not receive all who wished to enter it, at the same time that the fees were too low to admit of schools being established by private enterprise, with any hope that they would pay those who might open them. We believed that, were the fees of the College raised, a number of those studying there would be unwilling to pay the larger sum demanded from them, but would be willing to pay a fee large enough to induce ex students of the College to open schools for their instruction; and a career would be opened up to those ex-students, much more inviting than the drear waste of Keraneedom, or the not very inviting life, as the Courts are now constituted, of a pleader.—Our anticipations have been fulfilled. The fee was raised only eight annas a month, but the effect has been to deter many from entering the College, and to drive away several who had already entered. The absurd rules concerning the age of admission, that prevail in the Government Institutions, was another circumstance that would tend to render popular, a school where they would not be so strictly insisted upon. Bengalee ladies are, like their English sisters, very often unwilling to part with their little darlings at seven and eight years of age, and to trust them at a distance to the tender mercies of a large public school; and Bengalee gentlemen are, like their English brothers very often under the control of their wives. A school then, cheap enough, where there were no difficulties raised about the age of admission, and where the education given was good as that of the College, was thought by many to be sure to succeed. Such a school[২৩] was, on the 3rd December 1855, opened by Baboo Anundomohun Doss, under the auspices of Mr. Brennand the officiating Principal of the College, and Mr. Tydd officiating Head master, who we believe took upon themselves all pecuniary responsibility in case of failure. We are now happy to state that the school is self-supporting. It has at present 140 scholars divided into 8 classes. The students in the first class read the junior scholarship standard. Some of the lads expect to be able to compete for a Junior Scholarship at the next College examination. Messrs Clint and Tydd, the principal, and head master, of the College pay frequent visits to the school. We may therefore depend upon the quality of the instruction afforded. The schooling fees, amount to Rs. 110 a month.—Baboo Anundomohun Doss expresses a hope that Government may make some grant to the school. We hope not. We should like to see it succeed as a commercial speculation. We hope it may succeed so well as to cause other schools to spring up, and we look forward to the day, not far distant now we hope, when the College will deserve that name, when it shall not longer have a

Dame-School—as Lord Dalhousie[২৪] called it—department, but be led by scholars from these schools. We should then wish that the only test of admission should be ability to pay the fees, and to pass the examination at the end of the term. If too many crowd to the Colleges let us have twice the number of Colleges, and twice the number of masters; but let us have no dodges for keeping out those thirsting for knowledge, at the same time that our Government boasts of its Education despatches, and its anxiety to educate the people.

But we must say a few words about the Pride of Dacca, our Female School[২৫] The subscription list amounts to about Rs. 60 a month. To this Government has added a monthly grant of Rs 130. It is propossed to spend the money in the following manner.

Salary of 1st Teacher	Rs. 50	per mensem
do of 2nd do	" 30	"
do of 3rd do	" 20	"
Servants wages	" 10	"
Furniture &c	" 5	"
Books and sundries	" 5	"
Two palanquin Carriages	" 50	"
House rent	" 20	"

Mr. Woodrow however has forgotten to buy the Garees and horses. We believe a sum of Rs. 400 at least would be required for that purpose. The little ladies were very much gratified the other day by a visit from Mr. and Mrs. Muspratt for the interest she has shown in this school.

2.8.1856

EDUCATION

The great object of education is, we conceive, or ought to be, to fit and prepare man for this future life. If parents could tell the particular bent of the genious of their child, they would no doubt educate it in such a manner, as to develop that genius: but in the great generality of mankind, it is impossible to discover what that genius is. It is often unknown until called forth by circumstances, to the individual himself. Lok at Lord Clive[২৬] checking invoices, and adding up long columns of figures,—often we have no doubt wrong, and surpassed in his business by the dullard who occupied the desk next to his own. Was he at that time aware of his own great military genius? Did he then picture in his mind the field of Plassy, and the conquered hosts of Suraj-ood -Dowlah?[২৭] Did Lord Erskine, while an Ensign practising the goose-step, foresee his own elevation to the woolsack? Or did he not rather join, as most young men do, in the scoff against pettifogging lawyers? No man, much less his parents, can foresee his own future. It is then his parents duty, to give him such an education as will prepare him for any future which may eventuate.—It is because the Scotch Universities give such an

education, that we prefer the Scotch system above that of either of the two great English Universities. The one lays the foundation upon which one of any one of the sciences or arts may be raised. The other directs the attention exclusively to, and attempts to perfect in, one particular study. Oxford devotes itself to the Classics. Cambridge insists strongly upon proficiency in Mathematics. We give the preference to the first, because one cannot be a classical scholar without at the same time acquiring a knowledge of grammar, and a smattering of history, geography, the arts, mythology, theology, and the drama. If he study Vitruvius he becomes an architect, if Caesar, a soldier, if Cicero an orator. Horace teaches him the true principles criticism. Virgil initiates him into agriculture. But the mathematician is a mathematician only. He is solely taken up with the science of numbers. How many of our Cambridge men are there, who, when settled down in a snug parsonage, amuse themselves with their old mathematical studies, just as we have seen old maids great in decyphering anagrams and interpreting riddles, and considering it a triumph, worthy of being chronicled in letters of gold, when they have discovered how to cut a piece of paper into the greatest number of pieces in two cuts. The Scotch Universities made no man a perfect classical scholar, but they put him in the right way to become one. They do not educate an Adams up to the moment when he discovers a Neptune: but they give him the first principles which, followed out will lead him on to the point which Adams attained. But they do more than has been done by the English Universities. By grounding their alumni in metaphysics, they teach each of them to analyse his own thoughts. One who is aware that the mind is composed of various elements and combinations of those elements, and can resolve an individual thought or emotion into its component parts, is more likely to think and to judge correctly, than one who thinks the mind to be one homogeneous whole. One thus trained is more likely to attain to the "Know thyself" of the Heathen philosopher, than one who thinks that the Summum Bonum is to be found, either in the works of Cicero, or the writings of Newton or Laplace. Again, each Scotch student requires a knowledge of Chemistry, which is useful to him in a thousand situations in life, if it were only by the knowledge it imparts to him of the cause and effects of malaria on his own health, and the means of destroying that cause, or mitigating those effects.

But the education imparted by the East India Company[২৮] produces the good effects of neither system of training. If a man with a classical turn should fall into Oxford, he may issue a Bentley or a Porson. Should a born Mathematician happen into Cambridge, he may hope to rival the fame of a Leverrier or a Newton. But a student in one of our East India Colleges can never hope to be any thing, because he is

"Everything by starts, and nothing long."

We have seen a political economist who had studied the science during one lunation, brought up for examination and his answers

printed and given forth to the world, as the result of Company's training.... what a landholder was he answered, "A cruel tyrant who oppresses ryots."—We have seen a company's chemist who had never heard of the doctrine of Latent. Heat. How could he ? When the course consisted to a lecture once a week for three months.—Even with regard to those studies to which he has paid more particular attention, what the FRIEND OF INDIA has written concerning education at Bombay, is in every word applicable to Bengal. The student answers by rote. He has no idea beyond the words he has read in his class, and seldom is it that he attaches ideas to those words. We have known a man who has passed a good examination if the first two hundred numbers of the Spectator, who did not know whether the Spectator smoked or not, whether he was married or single, nor had he the slightest idea of his personal appearance. The same man could give, by rote, a perfect account of the various politics of all the states of Greece, but knew nothing of the Spartan boy who stole the fox.

The HURKARU of the 16th Instant has an article in praise of the anxiety of the Government for education, as illustrated by its circulars on the subject. The editor of the HURKARU ought, if any man does, to know that these circulars are Mays—delusion. Are the "responsibilities of Commissioners and other officers" are forbid to interfere in any way; even with the funds towards which they may have themeselves subscribed. The Commissioner is certainly allowed to"encourage zemindars and other influential natives to assist in founding and establishing Scholastic establishments," (elegant English that!) in short to come down with the dust; the glory of the good effected by which dust, the Government will take to itself; but he is not allowed to interfere with the management of such establishments, except by acting us a spy, by "sending in reports of any meritorious conduct or mal administation which he may have observed in the educational proceedings in his neighborhood."

The Government, says the HURKARU, is most anxious to encourage education by grants-in-aid. But where are they to get the money for these grants-in-aid ? The dishonesty of the Government has been so great, that no one will lend them money. There is a large deficiency in Revenue as compared with expenditure. Where is the money for grants-in-aid to come from? The Government of Bengal at least, will pursue its usual policy. It will make large promises, but when called upon to perform them, will find some loophole for escape. What has been the success of the Dacca female school with regard to a grant-in-aid ?—Trusting to the fine promises of Government with reference to Female education, the founders of the school applied for, and the Director of public Instruction recommended, a double grant-in-aid. This has been seized upon as an excuse for giving nothing at all.—We see the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has resolved, after much discussion, to avail themselves in their Missionary labors of the grant-in-aid. All we can say is, we fervently wish they may get them.

an excuse for giving nothing at all.—We see the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has resolved, after much discussion, to avail themselves in their Missionary labors of the grant-in-aid. All we can say is, we fervently wish they may get them.

The HURKARU says that the rule stating the grant-in-aid would be given to all, whatever their religious persuasion, should be written in letters of gold. The Hindoos of Madras, the most bigoted of the threee Presidencies, declared that they would think better of the Company's Government if it professed some religion, and recommended that the Scriptures should be read in the Government Colleges for one hour each morning, for those who might wish to attend. The Madras Hindoos, and we may add natives generally, are better Christains than the HURKARU.

As to the rule of employing educated natives in the public service, under Mr. Halliday, it is a dead letter. Indeed the country is the rule. The more uneducated a native is, the bigger he is exalted vide the Deputy Miagistrates of Serajgunge, Manickgunge, Moonshigunge, Burrisaul, Noakholly, and Chittagong. Some of these can scarcely read none of them we will venture to say, approach the Junior Scholarship standard laid down by Lord Dalhousie, as required for such an appointment as a Deputy Magistracy.

This article has already run to too great a length,but still we cannot refrain from pointing out what we consider the wants of the educational department, and how those wants are to be supplied. The great want of the department is teachers. No man can teach unless he has been taught. A self-educated man, especially if he has a great turn for a particular study, is the worst teacher possible of such study. His mind jumps from point to point. It does not recognise the steps that must be taken by common minds between these points. ·Newton started as a corollay of one of his propositions, another which seemed to him to be an evident consequence of the first. He was right; but no mind but his could make the leap, and volumes have since been written to fill up the hiatus. —It is evident then that we do not require self taught men, or geniuses. We want men who have been well taught, of ordinary minds, to recognise the difficulties of others. They must also be men who would be content with the salaries at present given, for we spend too much money upon Directors of public instruction and Inspectors, to be able to pay the teachers much.—Such men are to be had in hundreds in the Scotch Universities. Let it be intimated there, that a number of men are wanted, to commence on Salaries of $ 150 a year rising to $ 700 and numbers will come forward.—Let not the Englishman sneer at the Scotch Colleges. Let Englishmen show an educational institution like Dr. Duff's let them show teachers throughout India equal to the Scotch missionaries, and we will let them sneer.—Another great desideratum, without which the best teachers would be useless, is a

well contrived curriculum of study, which shall be adhred to, and not changed at the whim of every dabbler in the science of Education.— But we really must stop for the present.

18.10.1856

[Lalbagh School]

To the Editor of the Daca News

Sir—As the Gentry of the Dacca are very forward to see the establishment of schools all around the city, and take great interest in promoting learning, I beg, for the information of the public, your favor of giving the following a little space in corner of your much esteemed Dacca News.

I am extemely sorry to hear that the Lal Bagh School, once a pomissing one, is now verging towards a fall; and ere long will be abolished, not withstanding the care and exertions of a master. Who hardly could draw a poor salary of 10 rupees a month. This I feared, would have been the case with the Boboo Bazar Branch School, but by the kind attention and encouragement of Mr. Brennand, it is at present going on pretty well and promises a future prospect of success. For further encouragement, I would advice the headmaster to exert his utmost to instruct his pupils and to raise a subscription to give prizes to his best students after the examination in April next. It is then the school will grow like an April plant, shooting forth now and then a branch or a leaf; for it will grow as much by encouragement as it will wither and die by negligance.

Dacca
21st January 1857

Your obediently

MEMORABILIA

7.3.1857

[Baboo Bazar Branch School]

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS.

Sir—As I know not any bettter way to return our thank and acknowledgement to the liberal promoters and friends of Education, who have given so much encouragement to the student of the Baboo Bazar Branch School by their donations for prizes, will you allow me to beg the favour of your inserting the following in a corner of your universally esteemed DACCA NEWS and oblige.

Dacca
6th April 1857

Your most obdt. servant

RADHAKISHORE DASS
Head Master

W. Brennard Esq.	Rs 10
A. Forbes Esq.	Rs 5
J.G.N. Pogose Esq.	Rs 5
Captain J.D. Macnaghten	Rs 4
J.N. Sarkier Esq	3
Moulanea Mohamed Nazir	3

Kajeh Abdool Gunny	5
H. Muspratt Esq.	5
Baboo Muddun Mohan Bysack	1
" Radha Kissore Dass	5
" Hurry Mohun Bysack	4

11.4.1857

VERNACULAR EDUCATION

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS

Dear Sir,—there is not far from my residence a hut with an enclosure of mat in the centre, about eight feet square. This I am informed is the *Government Vernacular School* for this part of the country about fourteen miles north of Dacca. I have passed this building at all hours, from 8 o'clock A.M. to 12 at noon, but I have never yet seen a single soul in it. One forenoon I pulled up my horse as I was passing, intending to get off and see what the boys were learning, or (perhaps) taught: but with the exception of one single Jhanwar about ten years old, who popped his head out of the mat enclosure on hearing my voice. I could see no one and this little fellow jumped down and ran away on seeing me, singing out at the top of his voice Bapre! So that I turned round and rode homewards very quietly, lest I should have been accused by the people of the neighbouring village of intending to do the fellow some grievous bodily harm! Who are the folks at Dacca responsible to the Inspector of schools that the "young idea is taught how to shoot here." I suppose the Gooroomohashoy draws his pay from some person...........

31st March 1857 LACHAR

11.4.1857

THE FURREEDPORE SCHOOL

Mr. Ravenshawe, the magistrate of Furreedpore, has requested us to draw attention to the urgent want in that district of a School House, and to appeal to the inhabitants of Dacca A great many of who are interested as landholders in that district, and to those who wish to see—what every true lover of his country must wish—the cause of education prosper. We would appeal not only to the landholders, but to those who know that benefit they themselves have derived from education; to those uneducated but wealthy men, who have recognised the benefits of education by sparing no pains or expense to bestow that education, in which they themselves are wanting, upon their children; to those who are aware that it is not necessary to leave a fortune in gold and silver to that child whom they desire to see prosperous in the world, but only give him an education, which will not only enable him to make the fortune which the father is too poor to leave him, but will enable him to use that

fortune in the best way when it is once acquired. We would appeal also to those among the Europeans who are wise enough to know that the stability of our empire depends upon the spread of education—that the more educated men we have as subjects, the more subjects we will have who cannot be led away by every idle tale that is circulated, and the less danger there will be of such troublous times as those that are passing over us and spreading terror in the minds of all the population; and more especially in the minds of the educated those who know from history how terrible in their first outbreaks are the passions of an unenlightened mob. The educated are always the most timorous of sedition, because they know from the experience of past ages how dreadful are its consequences. If we have a majority of educated men, we shall have a majority of the population on the side of order. If all were educated, there would not be a man in the country who would seek for redress of any real or fancied injuries but through the legitimate channels which an educated Government always leaves open for the expression of public opinion or the expression of the wish of the majority of the Governed. It is the duty of all who wish to see peace and order the prevailing governing principles in the land to encourage education in every way in their power. It is threfore the duty of all good citizens to subscribe to the building of a schoolhouse at Furredpore, and we know that all our subscribers, and all those to whom those subscribers lend or send our paper are good citizens and therefore will subscribe. We shall be happy to receive subscriptions however large or small, and to forward them to Mr. Ravenshawe.

That gentleman syas, "We have now upwards of 120 boys and accomodation for only 50, the remainder being obliged to sit in the verandahs of the that thatched bungalow, subject to all the inclemencies of the weather. The verandahs are only 6 feet in breadth, and I much fear the heat is so intolerable in sunny weather—that if something is not done towards building a suitable pucka house, such as almost every district possesses, our now prosperous school must retrograde.—I never knew says. Mr. Ravenshawe, " so much eagerness for education as evinces itself in this district. Many however will not allow their children to join for fear of detriment to their health.—We have funds amounting to about Rs.1700 but not another pice can I get, as all the influential landholders reside out of the district, and our community here is too small to raise anything like our deficiency. If you would make an appeal on our behalf at Dacca, and offer to receive subscriptions, you will confer a favour not only upon ourselves, but a far deeper one on the inhabitants of the district."—We are fully aware of the importance of the object on behalf of which Mr. Ravenshawe pleads so earnestly. We can only hope that the amount of the subscriptions we may receive, may not be so small as to show that the Dacca people are not earnest in the cause of education, and that Mr. Ravenshawe has rated our assistance too highly.

6.6.1857

BANGLA BAZAAR FEMALE SCHOOL

We are very glad to learn that the Government has sanctioned a Grant-in-aid of Rs. 80 a month for the Bangla Bazaar Female School from November 1856, on condition that the private subscriptions amount to Rs.50 a month. They were we believe considerably more than this when an appeal was first made to the public on this account, but from many gentlemen having left the station, and no application having been made to the new-comers, they are now reduced to about Rs.40. A paper will we believe be almost immediately circulated to the inhabitants of Dacca, who are sure will make top, the amount required to make the Government Grant-in-aid able. There has never been any want of fund in Dacca.......

20 6.1857

MR. YOUNG'S REPORT

We have received a copy of the "Report of the Director of public instruction in the Lower Provinces for the second quarter of 1856-57 (i. e. from August to October 1856) price eight annas," and dear at the price. It is a record of a mountain in labor which produces a ridiculous mouse; it is a pennyworth of bread (results) to an unconscionable quantity of sack (salary and trimmings). The First thing recorded by Mr. Young is, that he and Mr. Clint the Principal of the Presidency College thought that nothing was required for that College, but a little improvement which might be effected at an " inconsiderable expense." The Government of India considers this to be a "purely fanciful idea," and commands an expenditure of eight lakhs of rupees on a building. Mr. Young's language on this subject is almost mutinous.—He next states that he can get no directions with regard to the course for this season, though he applied for orders so long ago as the 9th of August last, and "there is in consequence some doubt at present (the 13th of April 1857) as to the precise course of study to be followed in the ensuing session." In October last Mr. Young submitted to Government a proposal for the establishment of a Grant-in-aid College at Oterparah. Baboo Joykissen Mookerjea offers Rs. 300 a month and to give Rs.5000 with such land as may be necessary, provided Government will give Rs 5000 and raise its grant to Rs 600 a month. He also offers to guarantee Rs 1,100 a month at least as the proceeds of the School fees. In reply the Lieutenant Governor states that he is not prepared to solicit the sanction of the Supreme Government for so large a proportion of the expenditure proposed, in the absence of security for the permancecy of the increased contribution which is now offered by the Baboo.—Mr. Young states that the Local Committees take much interest in the Zillah Schools. This is more than the Local Committee in Dacca can do in the Dacca College, where they have been reduced to cyphers, and despotic authority vested in the Principal, who never now takes the trouble even of summoning a meeting of the Committee, perhaps

suspecting that that body would sarcely assemble to do nothing, which is the present limit of their powers.—Mr. Young furnishes a table with regard to the Grant-in-aid farce, showing that "putting aside four Districts (Hoogly, Nuddea, Burdawan and the 24 Pergunnahs) in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, in which elementary education is begining to be appreaciated, the average number of aided schools in thirty two districts is only one and a sixth, and that in eighteen districts not a single vernacular school has been brought under the operation of the rules."—That we are entitled to talk of the "Grant-in-aid farce," is evident from the 21st paragraph of the report, where Mr. Young tell us that ten percent on the total expenditure of the department (Rs 5,600 a month) is all that is "sanctioned by the Government of India for Grants-in aid." We should think but ill of a Factory or any other mercantile speculation, where in the managers' salaries exceeded the outlay in sowing weeding cutting, manufacturing &c as nine to one. What are we to say of Grants-in aid but that they are a farce? Mr. Young informs us that they have been exhausted. The proper course now to be pursued is to increase the "expenditure of the department" so as to be enabled to draw a larger ten-per-centage. One hundred and fifty four applications for grants amounting to Rs 3290 a month, or a little more than the Director's monthly salary, were therefore undisposed of on the 30th of April last. "With a few unimportant exceptions, no monthly Grants-in aid have been sanctioned by Government since september last in consequence of the want of funds here referred to. " Have we not a right to call the Grants-in aid farce, seeing that no more than Rs 5,600 ($560) can be given to provinces contributing nearly half the Revenue of India, when Rs 3,000 a month ($ 300) can be easily spared to the gentleman who writes the report before us. We must however in fairness state that Mr. Young is "mutionous" in his language on this point, and that his report ought to come under the action of the Gagging Act. Mr. Young mentions that the Government have given a Grant of Rs 1,000 a month to the Church Missionary Society for the establishment of schools among the Sonthals.

The next report is that of Mr. Pratt. It is occupied chiefly by statements of that gentleman's very crude ideas with regard to education. He seems to believe that some plan maybe discovered whereby a complete education may be obtained with very little trouble on the part of the scholar. Mr. Pratt surely knows that nothing that is valuable is to be obtained without labor, and that the more valuable the thing is the more labor has to be bestowed on the acquisition of it. The Pestalozzian system or any other system which begins by plunging in *mediasres*, skipping over the alphabet, can never be worth much. Knowledge made easy is worthless knowledge.—Mr. Woodrow's report is not interesting, as that gentleman was suffering from severe illness during the greater part of the period embraced in the report, and indeed applied to be excused from furnishing one at all: but if his report is uninteresting that of Mr. Harrison is most amusing. However fitted that gentleman

may be to inspect schools,he is certainly not fitted to teach the English language in them....Where could we find such composition as the following,, but proceeding from a wrangler of one of our English Universities where men are taught everything but their own language.

4.7.1857

EDUCATION FOR THE NATIVES

One of the questions which has been asked by the Calcutta reform league is, what effect education has had upon the natives, referring we suppose to its political aspect; as to whether it has made the Bengalees and others who have received a good English education more loyal to the Government of Britain, than if they had not received such an education. We answer without hesitation that it has. We believe that every man is more loyal to Britain in proportion to the education he has received. He who has received but little education is little loyal, he who has received much, is in proportion to what he has learned, more or less vehmently loyal. One who like the ryot or the sepoy sees an Englishman in this country excercising an authority far above that which is warranted by his superior physical strength, conceives, that the presumption of the foreigner is founded upon his more phsical superiority, and that, if that can in any way be overcome, he shall obtain the victory. He is dangerous, because he is ignorant of the feeling which keeps Englishmen together, and which Sir Henry Lawrence strove so vainly to inculate upon his almost mutinous troops,—that, even if every Englishman in India were utterly annihilated, the mother country would within six months land upon the shores of India, a force which should inflict the same fate upon those, who forgetful of past kindnesses and favors—such kindnesses as they would not have received from any government in the world except the English—had, with every circumstance of atrocity which could have entered only into minds inspired wholly by a devilish creed, cruely murdered their benefactors with their helpless women and their harmless babes.—Sir Henry Lawrence's hearers were incredulous, because they were ignorant. An educated man would have recognised immediately the truth of what he said, and thus it was that the ignorant mob of soldiery were led to murder those whose deaths would be so fearfully revenged.—It is a well recognised principle in England, that the educated classes are always the most peaceable, relying as they do upon what is called "political agitation" for the recognition of their rights, and preferring to await the results, of that political agitation, to attempting to right themselves by physical force. They know that Great Truth will prevail. They know this from the study of History. They have seen that the only men who have been permanently successful in introducing changes, have been those who have trusted in this maxim. They know that men who have sought to take a short leap towards their end by means of violence, have not only overlept themselves and fallen into disgrace, but have by their discomfiture,

given such encouragement to their enemies, and so disheartened their friends, that the cause for which they have been contending has been thrown back much, by having for a moment been defeated.— Why should not this peaceableness of the educated class be recognised in India. Human Nature is Human Nature. The same principles—provided they are first principles, which when applied to men in the West, produce certain results will, we hesitate not to say, produce the same results in the East.—This peaceableness resolves itself in men of action into an adherence to the party in power, so long as it is believed, that that party is actuated by worthy and wise motives. Whenever there is reason to think otherwise, it becomes the principle of opposition. And for this reason—that educated men know from the study of history—of the story of the great events which have influenced the human race from its creation—from a knowledge of metaphysic, that science which teaches the constitution of the human mind—for this reason it is, that educated men are peaceable men because they know that any change produced by violence can have no permanent effect, unless there is some great and true principle involved in the cause producing such viloent effects. Why, for instance, were the Mahommedan armies so powerful, and why did they produce such a permanent effect upon the nations they conquered? For this reason—that the Mahommedan doctrine, propagated though it was by the Sword, carried the great truth among the idolatrous nations, of the unity of God. It was this, that for want of a purer faith was the strength of Islamism. It was this, which caused the sons of idolatrous fathers still to adhere to Mahommedanism, despite of all the strong traditions of country and of race, even when the predominant power became weakened.— Black prelacy as it was called—the fromulas of the Church of England, were introauced into Scotland at the point of the bayonet, an enforced by the edge of the sword. But when the coercive power was withdrawn, the people returned with none consent to Presbyterisnism. Why was this? Because prelacy involved no great truth, nay—we speak according to our lights—involved a lie.

If it be allowed that that reaching which involves great truth is permanent and valuable, in as much as it produces a permanent effect upon the people taught, then we must allow that English education impared to natives is a boon of no small magnitude. We must allow that what is taught to them is a series of truths of the greatest magnitude that can be discoverd by the most exalted human intellects. We regard that the truths revealed by the Great God himself are those which alone are excluded from our Colleges.—What though the first receipients of those truths are snobs, are in fact Young Bengal, who in their emancipation from the heavy trammels and chains laid upon them by a three thousand years old superstition run a little wild, still, when they have sown their wild oats, when they have sobered down into men anxious to learn what is the real business of life we shall find these truths sticking by them. Truths are like young peepul trees. When once they get into a

building they can scarcely be eradicated. It is easy to pluck them up while yet but seedlings, but once allow their roots to penetrate the brick work, and you may cut them down yea. after year and not destroy them.

Knowledge is power. A man who has the secret of gunpowder is always more powerful than he who has not. Had the sepoys known the truth of this maxim, they would nto have rebelled against us, because they would have known that we have a thousand such secrets which made us very powerful. Let us impart knowledge to our subjects, and we shall prevent the possiblity of rebellion, for the more they know, the more they will know that we know more than they, and are therefore more powerful than they.—Until the natives receive education, and that too Christian education, we shall have to keep an overwhelming European force in India.

24.10.1857

[ENGLISH EDUCATION]

The Mohammedans knows how dangerous an English education is, and in the Pubna and some other districts, they excommunicate those among the Mussulmans who send their children to a school in which English is taught.

24.10.1857.

[১২.৬.১৮৫৮-এর ঢাকা নিউজ-এ, ধামরাই স্কুলের প্রধান শিক্ষক ঈশ্বরচন্দ্র সেন এক চিঠিতে জানান যে, বিধবাদের পুর্নবিবাহ উচিত, নয়ত অন্তিমে ফলাফল শুভ হয় না, অনেকে গর্ভবতী হয়ে পড়ে; সুতরাং স্ত্রী শিক্ষা প্রায়োজন-

".............The Female school established here nearly six months ago is inspite of the objection raised by the villagers, gradually going on to be in a flourishing state and which will in some measure be a remedy to the occurence of this kind of brutality for the future.

12.6.1858

প্রশাসন

[ইংরেজ শাসন/প্রশাসনের ক্ষেত্রে, পূর্ববঙ্গের সম্পাদকদের দৃষ্টি প্রধানত আকর্ষিত হয়েছে পুলিশের অন্যায় আচরণ, সিভিলিয়ানদের রূঢ় ব্যবহার, আদালতের পক্ষপাত-দুষ্টতা প্রভৃতির প্রতি। ১৮৮০ সালে, ভারতীয় প্রশাসনের সমালোচনা করে লিখেছিলো 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'- "ভারতবর্ষীয় শাসনকার্য্যের বহু দোষ, ইহার অপকর্মের সীমা নাই।" তারপর উল্লেখ করেছিলো অপকর্মের কারণ সমূহ-"প্রথমতঃ ভারতবর্ষীয় গবর্ণমেন্ট নিতান্ত একগুঁয়ে, কাহারো হিতবাক্য শুনিতে চান না। নিজেও আবার নানা বিষয়ে ভ্রান্ত। দ্বিতীয়তঃ ইংলন্ড হইতে ভারতবর্ষের শাসনকার্য্যে বিজ্ঞ ও উপযুক্ত লোক প্রায় আইসেন না।........ তৃতীয়তঃ এ দেশে গভর্ণমেন্টের কয়েকজন মন্ত্রদাতা আছেন। ইহার মধ্যে মধ্যে নানা প্রকার অনর্থকর দুর্ম্মন্ত্রণা। ....চতুর্থতঃ। স্বার্থ সাধনে ভারতবর্ষীয় গবর্ণমেন্টের একটী প্রধান লক্ষ্য....... এখনো শাসনকার্য্যের নানা অংশে স্বার্থপরতা ব্যাপ্ত রহিয়াছে । যেখানে স্বার্থ সেখানে ন্যায় অন্যায় ও হিতাহিত বিচার থাকিতে পারে না।"

এর পঁচিশ বছর আগে, যখন ভারতবর্ষ কোম্পানীর অধীন তখনও ইংরেজ পত্র-পত্রিকায় মোটামুটি একই ধরনের বক্তব্য প্রতিফলিত হয়েছে, 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এ সংকলিত সংবাদ/নিবন্ধগুলি এর উদাহরণ।

'ঢাকা নিউজ' লেঃ গবর্ণর হ্যালিডকে বিশেষভাবে অপছন্দ করতো.। হ্যালিডে সম্পর্কে পত্রিকাটি উল্লেখ করেছিলো -"Mr. Hallidays' greatest sin, after his political dishonesty, is his abuse of his patronage."

ইংরেজ শাসন অপছন্দ ছিল না সম্পাদকের। কিন্তু প্রশাসক বা 'কমপিটিশেনঅলা'দের ব্যাপারে কিঞ্চিৎ আপত্তি ছিল। সিভিলিয়ানরা যদি নীলকর স্বার্থের বিরুদ্ধে সামান্যতম কিছু করতেন তা'হলেই তিনি পত্রিকার বিষবাক্যের সম্মুখীন হতেন। ভারতীয় দারোগাদের উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে 'tyrant' হিসেবে, কারণ, মাঝে মাঝে তারা প্রজার পক্ষ নিতেন।

ইংরেজ শাসন সঞ্জাত যে স্বার্থ সংঘাত, ক্ষোভ ও স্বাজত্যবোধ-এর মধ্যেই নিহিত উনিশ শতকের বাঙালীর রাজনৈতিক মনোভাব। এবং এই মনোভাব সংবাদ-সাময়িক পত্রগুলিতে তুলে ধরা হয়েছিলো। অন্যদিকে ইংরেজি পত্রিকাগুলিতে বিশেষকরে 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এ ফুটে উঠেছে ইংরেজ শাসনের মাহাত্ম্য। যদি সে মাহাত্ম্য কখনও ক্ষুন্ন হয়ে থাকে তবে তা সিভিলিয়ানদের জন্য। তবে, উল্লেখ্য ১৮৫৬ সালে পত্রিকার একটি মন্তব্য। 'জাস্টিস অফ পিস' নিয়োগ প্রসঙ্গে 'ঢাকা নিউজ' লিখেছিলো-'নেটিভরা' লেজিসলেটিভ কাউন্সিলের জন্য এখনও উপযুক্ত নয় কিন্তু জাস্টিস অফ পীস হিসেবে নিয়োগ করে রাজনৈতিক ক্ষমতা কিভাবে ব্যবহার করতে হয় তার প্রশিক্ষণ দেয়া উচিত। কারণ, "which must one day be granted to them."]

সংকলন

EUROPEAN AND NATIVE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

There has been much apprehension, especially among the natives, about the extent to which powers are to be conferred upon Indigo planters, as Justices of the Peace; and among Europeans as to how far natives might be trusted with such powers. After all that has been said and written on the subject, we have the vanity to think, that our own scheme, proposed to an influential civilian some six or seven years ago, and published by us in a letter to the Secretary of the Indigo Planter's Association in 1854 is the one best suited to the wants of the country, and to the material out of which we must make Honarary magaistrates; for paid magistrates in sufficient numbers, it is impossible for this country at present to have. We therefore make no apology for republishing that part of our letter, in which the details of our scheme were set forth. After describing the courts, as at present held by Planters and Zemindars for the settlement of the disputes of their ryots, we went on to say—

"Now, if these courts exist, why should not the Government, by recognising them, bring them under control, and make them assist the magistrate, rather than thwart him in every way. At present it depends upon the character of the Zemindar or his manager, whether they are blessings or curses to the people. This would be remedied if the Government know and could take cognisance of what these courts did.

I would make respectable Zemindars and Indigo planters, justices of the peace; which title I would make honourable, and an object of ambition, by paying public respect to the bearers of it, and by making expulsion from the list, the inevitable consequence of any abuse of power, or of being concerned directly or indirectly in affrays, dacoitees, &c. This I think would be a much better plan for putting a stop to the lattial system, than arming the magistrates with extra power. I would give each justice of the peace power to punish for petty assaults, cattle trespass of say, one or two cattle in a ryots field, the use of a abusive language tending to promote a breach of the peace, and other small offences, for which a fine of 10 rs might be considered an adequate punishment. Two justices of the peace might punish up to 20 rs. keeping a slight record of each case. Two justices of the peace should have the power of committing to the magistrate or deputy magistrate, for all more serious crimes than the above. This would directly interest the zemindars, or justices of the peace, in discovering and revealing crime; than the above. their doing everything in their power to conceal it. The justices of the peace, living in one thannah, ought to meet once a month and have the power of deciding civil suits up to the value of 50 rs.which should be unburdened by any expense, except that of a nominal stamp of, say, 2 annas., No escaping form pronouncing a decree by catching hold

of a chance of nonsiting, or say other of the quirks and quibbles of the English law, should be allowd.

The justices of the peace, residing in a zillah, should meet at the sudder station every three months, where they might plan roads and other improvements in the district, and the representations of these meetings ought to be treated by the Government with the greatest respect. Disputes between zamindars and planters, and planters and zemindars, would I have no doubt, be referred to the judgment of such meetings. The planters and zemindars would become acquainted with one another, and those quarrels, which are too often caused or fomented by interested employees, would be put a stop to, or rather would never arise. Above all, you would give the respectable native a worthy object of authority you would teach him self-respect and self-reliance, and a number of his prejudices against Europeans, with whom he would be for the first time brought in contact, would be obliterated. The European also would be not seldom benefited by finding that the "d-d nigger" was not so black as he was painted.

Observed I ask for nothing new, no alteration of laws or customs, nothing difficult of introduction as opposed to the prejudices of the people. I only ask that the Government shall recognise and regulate that state of things which already exists; and which will continue to exist, as long as the nearest court is forty miles distant, and there is no cheap method of administering justice to the poor."

We do not think the natives are yet fit to be members of the legislative Council, but we think, the working of some such scheme as the above, would be the best way of preparing them to use the political power, which must one day be granted to them. Petty and Quarter Sessions will be training for Parliament. We may add that we have not explained our scheme to one native who was not pleased with it. One man of great intelligence said "Ah! then there would be something worth living for. We would have something else to think of than lawsuit and Poojahs,, and we should have an opportunity of distinguishing ourselves as active magistrates, and promoters of the good of the country and people. At present, the only course open to one who wishes to separate himself from the common herd is to render himself pre-eminent in evil.

16.8.1856

DAROGAHS IN THE MOFUSSIL

It may be in the recollection of readers that we, some time ago reported the burning down of a house at Joymuntu while occupied by the Darogah of Dhamroy. The Darogah admitted that the fire occured during his occuipation of the house. An investigation was ordered by the magistrate which we believe proved, conducted as if had been by, another police officer, that the fire was accidental. Upon this the magistrate ordered, that the result of the enquiry should be communicated to the owner of the House, who was residing at Rangpore. A copy of his remark has been communicated to us, and

we think it so, illustrative of the causes of that general fear of the visits of the police, which prevails among the inhabitants of the Mofussil, as to warrant our giving it a place in our columns. Kassinath Roy the owner of the house states that during his absence form home, the Darogah of Tannah Dhamroy arrived in the village where his house was situated, for the purpose of making an enquiry in an Act IV case: with which, be it observed, Kassinath had nothing to do. There was a police station in the village, but the Darogah probably not considering it comfortable enough took up his abode in Kassinath's house not withstanding the entreaties of the women, who represented to him that they were alone. One can conceive, how, unwilling they were to have the Darogah in such close proximity. Even Englishwomen would dislike having twenty policemen, respectable as they are at home if comparison with the scum of the earth of which Mr. Halliday tells us the Mofussil police is composed, quartered upon them in the absence of the makes of the family: much more so Bengalee women who are accustomed never to issue from behind the purdah. About midnight the house in which the Darogah was took fire. No alarm seems to have been given and three or four of the huts were in flames when the family awoke. A female servant, who was very ill, was rescued with difficulty, and then the family of poor terrified women, deprive of all shelter in the middle of the night had use to look about them, they saw the Darogah seated at some distance surrounded by his people, and with all his own goods and chattels in safety.Kassinath lost fourteen huts and about Rs 2000 worth of property, consisting of shawls, broadcloth, copper and brass utensils, chests, cots, gold and silver ornaments and other valuables. Kassinath says, "he (the Darogah) gave no alarm to the inmates of my house, nor did he make any attempt either by his own people or those of the village, to extinguish the fire." In the end of the petition he intimates his intention of bringing a civil suit against the Darogah, for what he considers the wilful destruction of his property. We wish that something were done to teach darogahs, that they have no right to take up their quarters in the best house in every village, a privilege which every Darogah in Bengal imagines himself so possess:—and we could wish that the award of heavy damages against the Darogah, might teach a Bengalee to consider his house, especially when by defenceless women, a castle which cannot be invaded with impunity, even by the dreadest of all his tyrants—the Darogah.

4.10.1856

WHAT SHOULD WE HAVE DONE ?

Suppose that the children who now exercise the magisterial sway over us had been obedient children, and had shaved all the prisoners in the jails as commanded by Dr. Mouat, or had tried to shave them, and they had resisted, and suppose their brethren outside the jail had taken up the cause of the sacred beard, and suppose an outbreak had taken place in the city of Dacca, what should we have

done? Dacca is garrisoned by 200 sepoys with two officers. One hundred of these are in Cantonments at the Lall Bagh and one hundred are on guard at the Collectory,the Commissariat officer's, the Executive officer's and the house of the Superintendent of Kheddas, scattered here and there, most of them with at least two miles of city between them and the Lall Bagh, where are also two guns, with 30 or 40 Artillerymen. With a leader of the least tact, the sepoys would have been cut off in detail, and the insurgents put in possession of the guns and ammunition. It is but doubtful however whether the ammunition would have benefited them much, as it is generally believed to be of that quality which is characterised as "condemened stores." Suppose that the Commissioner had dispatched a fleet messenger to Jumalpore, to call the regiment to his assistance—the messenger would have been three days in getting there, even supposing that Mymensing were not disturbed in the same manner as Dacca by the "shaving order." When the messenger reached Jumalpore, a place where troops cannot possible be of the slightest use, the Commanding officer would find, that it would take at least two months to procure boats. It would not then be possible to proceed by water, and the troops must march. Before troops can march it is necessary that provisions should be provided for them, especially when the country through which they have to march is a dense jungle. To do so would take, with the most strenuous exertions, at least a fortnight.The march of the troops would at last arrive with more than half laid prostrate by jungle fever. The insurrection would have broken out simultaneously at Furredpore, Backergunge, and Noakhally. The Europeans would have been murdered first, as in the Sonthal rebellion, and the whole country would have been given up to plunder. There is no railroad from Calcutta by which troops could have been poured into the disaffected districts at the first alarm. There is not even a telegraph to Calcutta by which the Commissioner—if he had summoned up courage enough to depart from the usual routine of a heavy foolscap letter, in an envelope of still heavier country paper, crushing to the ground the unfortunate, coolies who serve in this country instead of the swift locomotive, to carry our post—could have telegraphed the disaster to the seat of Government.—What right we ask has the Company of Traders trading to the East Indies to put in peril the lives, not only of Britons, the subjects of the Queen of England, but of the well affected natives of the country, by an imbecility which chooses Jumalpore for the head quarters of the only regular troops in Eastern Bengal, instead of Dacca? The Mahomedans did not do so.—The Briton in any part of the known world except India, knows that he is a Briton Is he in the isles of the Pacific ocean, is he in the dominions of the Turk, is he in the kingdom governed by the infamous Bomba—let but a hand be raised against him and the squadrons of England appear, as it were by magic.

(See Supplement)

13.12.1856

MOFUSSIL INCIDENTS

The following narrative of facts may be useful, as showing the total inability of the Company's Courts as at present officered, to protect life and property in the Mofussil; and that deeds of daring and oppression are enacted by the mild Hindoo, worthy of the most stirring times on the Scottish Border. Indeed change the name of Hossein Sircar into Armstrong or Elliott, and we shall have one of those heroes from whom it was the pride of Sir Walter Scott to trace his descent. Change Mr. Halliday's name into that of Rizzio, and we shall immediately recognise the cause of the contempt for the Courts and the police which places of trust and hour are given to those, whose only qualification for them are acknowledge of music, or having administered to the pleasures or wants of those in power; and that this is the case in Bengal, every one who has been but a few years in the country knows full well. What a history would be that of the appointments of many of the East India Company's Uncovenanted Servants!—Mr. Halliday's greatest sin, after his political dishonesty, is his abuse of his patronage. He provides for his own unworthy favorites. He cannot refuse to provide for the favorites of his associate. He dare not refuse, for fear of having his own appointments thrown in his teeth, and thus the Services become filled with unworthy persons.—But this is not the worst. The Covenanted services are infected. They see that the Presidency appointments are held by those who gratify the musical taste of the Governor. They see a well paid appointment created for Mrs. So-and-so's husband, merely because her voice or her playing is required in the great man's concerts. We have heard of a learned doctor whose chief attention ought to have been directed to Chemistry, but who, instead of studying the works of Faraday or of Liebig, devoted his time to the violin, though utterly destitute of any musical ear, knowing well that his fiddling would be more valued by those in whose hands were the fat things of patronage, than his knowledge of the atomic theory or the radiation or undulation of light. And he was wise in his generation, for has he not obtained a most lucrative appointment, the salary attached to which has just been increased.

But to our tale. Messrs Mackay Barry and Co of Serajgunge purchased a factory named Noaparrah, from the executors of the late Baboo Dwarkanauth Tagore. The Factory had been for some time closed, and the Zemindar objected to its being worked, in consequence of its proximity to his Cutcherry, and to the house of one of his principal ryots of delicate olfactory nerves. the planters having bought the factory for the purpose of working it, and having been duly put in possession by those to whom it had belonged, did not choose to give it up to the zemindar; nor did they, foolishly trusting in the power of the Courts to protect them, fear the threat made use of towards them by him, that if they did not give in to his terms, he would not only prevent them opening this factory, but would close their other seven factories. They have now cause to

regret that they ever thought the factory. No sooner was their answer communicated to the Zemindar than bands of armed men "began to parade over all the different factories of the Concern, and a series of such acts of violence commenced, as no person could believe, who had not unfortunately experience of Mofussil doings, under the quiet rule of the East India Company." Those of the servants who went to their work in the fields, were seized and carried away, boats were plundered, Indigo seed pitched into the river, and every ryot or coolie who worked for the factory unmercifully beaten and ill treated. But this was only the begining. The planters were asked "If they had had enough,and would give up the factory or be more roughly treated." Hoping for redress and justice they refused.

"And then commenced such a series of acts as even you would be astonished at but these I will reserve for my next. Suffice it to say for the present, that I myself had to run for my life before ahed of two hundred lattials--that O'G. has been chased of the fields half a dozen times, most narrowly escaping being murdered—that the police two Darogahs and a host of burkindazes, sent to apprehend offenders, have been openly attacked. driven away, and the prisoners forcibly rescued from them—that the darogahs are so terrified that they will not leave their houses—that three of our Gomastahs have been carried away into confinement—that sums of money have been plundred from our servants at various times amounting in all to more than a thousand rupees—and that finally, as a last coup de main, or Nollooah factory was attacked, plundred and burnt to the ground with every thing in it. China pumps, the whole of the manufacturing implements, the assistant's bungalow, and in fact every thing in the place to the value of more than Rs 4000.

Every man who has given evidence in our favour has been invariably carried away and his house plundred. Every one of our servants that were left, abandoned the factories and fled. We sent to Mymensing to Mr. Lance the Magistrate and begged he would come to the spot, and save our prospects, and the lives of our servants and the lands we had been able to sow, from being completly destroyed by cattle. Mr. Lance refused to come. He said the Deputy Magistrate Mr. Cockburn had the cases and would go. We urged that in such an extraordinary case, where the most stringent measures were required to save life and property, the Magistrate of the district was the most proper person to visit the spot. The Magistrate however would not come. He did not think it necessary. We then went to the judge and begged he would insist upon the Magistrate's going; but he said he could not interfere as he was only an appellate court, and he could do nothing but send our petition to the Magistrate for orders; so that while we are being ruined, and our lives and property are in the most imminent danger, the Magistrate and Judge of the district dont think it their duty to visit the scene of these outrages, and put a stop to further damage being done. Mr. Cockburn the Deputy Magistrate has done all that Magistrate could do, but his orders to catch the offenders &c, are of no more use than so much waste

paper. The lattials laugh in the Darogah's face, and the atrocities continue. Mr. Cockburn is again coming to the spot to remain there for a time, to try to maintain the authority of the police, but we do not expect he will succed in doing much. In the meantime our lands are all but fallow, and we may yet see the manufacturing come round, and be unable to open them. I should mention that the scene of these outrages lies within the Jumalpore Subdivision. On the Serajgunge side of the river, our opponents troubled us for about a month and then desisted, and concentrated all their forces into the one brigade across the river, where we have three factories; and they being situated 60 miles distant from any station, this was considered a good place to do for us, and so far our opponents have succeeded in their every wish. We shall see if there will be any redress for us even though it belong of coming.

But it is only fair that I should give our opponents' account of the origin of the quarrel. They alleged that we had sown Indigo in their paddy lands: but upon our representation, the Magistrate visited the spots complained of, rode over miles of country, and the other party not being able to show any indigo in paddy lands, Mr. Dampier dismissed their cases, and summoned them to answer for false complaint. Mr. Cockburn's investigations, on the other side of the river, ended in the same result. But though it is evident to the Magistrates that we are being oppressed. They cannot help us. We have lost heavily and are still losing—our prestige is gone, and all because we trusted to the Company for protection and redress. If matters dont mend, we must see if the Commissioner cant make the Judge and Magistrate of Mymensing take a little more interest in their district.

Why did we annex Oude? Were things worse there than the tale told above with the rude eloquence of honest indignation?—Has king Bomba not some right to say as he does "Why do you allege my misgovernment of my subjects as a reason for interfering between me and them? Look at the way you yourselves govern India."

24.10.1856

MR. LEYCESTER

We announce with the deepest regret, a regret that will be shared by every one in Dacca who has anything to do with the Civil Court, and by none more than the Omlah of that Court, that Mr. Leycester is to return to Dacca as Civil and Sessions Judge. We have known Mr. Leyester as Magistrate, Collector, and Judge. He was unfortunately acting for a few months as Magistrate, when an attempt was made to introduce Act XXIII of 1850, the Municipal Act, into the City. This Act which would have enabled us to tax ourselves, to elect our own Municipal Committee, in fact to have had self government, requires the consent of a majority of the inhabitants. That consent would have been obtained had it not been for Mr. Leycester's conduct at the public meeting convened for the purpose of obtaining it. As Collector

the cashing of a common draft took, in his time, more diplomacy than the gaining of a Civil suit does now-a-days. As judge—he was one of the worst of judges. He could never come to a decision either right or wrong, so as to allow of appeal. It grieves us to have to write so of one, who, in private life, is an agreeable companion and a good Christian.

24.10.1856

[To the Editor]

We give prominent insertion to the following letter, which we have received from a distant part of the country, as showing that the attention even of strangers, is attracted towards the state of misrule existing in the Dacca district.

To the Editor of the DACCA NEWS.

Sir

What is your Magistrate about? Is he or is he not bound to exercise a superintendence over his Deputy Magistrates, and to protect the inhabitants to the villages in his Zillah from general oppression.

Has he heard of a place called Bickrampore, where all the Omlah of Bengal, or nearly all, go to in the Doorgah Poojah? Because, if he chose to make enquiry, he might find out, that Deenobundoo, a man well known to and kept in order by Mr. Tweedie, is again at his old game, which is this. He writes to the richer Omlah and requestes a sum of money as black mail. Should it not be paid, the unfortunate man's house is plundered, and the lovely occupants of the penetralia exposed to outrage and insult. As, through fear, no one will give evidence of similar treatment, nothing is done; and in general the Omlah find it most convenient to pay. Although, from the want of spirit of the Bengalees, they are themselves most to blame, yet the authorities should pervent the levy of this black mail. One Lushkar, in the north of Dacca, grew rich by similar practices. I have not heard much of him lately.

VIDOCO

It has been well known that the Soonderbunds are infested by robbers, especially at the time that a large portion of that part of the population of Bengal, which earns its bread by service as Omlah in the Courts, writers in public offices and Mercantile houses, Gomastahs, Naibs &c, is returning home for the Poojah, laden with the savings of the year. There is not a planter who has not some adventure to relate, of what occurred to him while passing through the Soonderbunds. A late Commissioner of Dacca told us, that he saw a large boat robbed in open day, while on his wav to Dacca. We once had a family among our ryots, who lived by open day robbery of grain boats, but we soon put a stop to this, by the exercise of a little of what Mr. Biddle calls "paternal authority."

But to return to VIDOCO'S complaint. Bickrampore is in the Subdivision of Moonasheegunge, which is presided over by a Darogah-Deputy Magistrate, who is said to be a man of such compassionate nature, that he cannot bear to inflict a greater punishment for most offences, than a fine of Rs 5; and, if the offender should be very peritent, he remits half the fine, and allows him to pay the rest by instalments. Mr. Jenkins is certainly very unfortunate in his subordinstes. The Manickgunge man does every thing wrong and the Moonsheegunge man does nothing.

However natives may be fitted for the bench, it is most certain they are not fitted for Police appointments, not even Darogaships. They have not the courage to enforce discipline. If they did so, false cases would be got up against them by their own subordinates. They must enter into a sort of bargain with them. They must wink at much they do, in order to keep them quiet. We knew a very religious Mahomedan Darogah, who would never take a bribe, or give a false report, prayed five times a day, and gave most of his salary in alms. But he had a sharp little fellow of a Hindoo Mohurrer under him, who was the most rapacious little wretch we ever had to deal with. The Darogah did not dare to cneck his mal-practices. We never had to pay so much balck mail to the police, as when these two were together at the thannah in which our Factories were situated.

Would any native have held out against the Khall Mahajuns as Mr. Galiffe has done? Not one. We require men like Mr. Galiffe to take the superintendence of our police. Our Magistrate has enough to do in Cutcherry, especially with such Deputy Magistrates as he has got to assist him. Much of his time must be taken up in finding out their delinquencies. But neither Mr. Jenkins' health nor his habits, nor his experience, fit him to be Magistrate of Dacca.

19.9.1856

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE BENCH

It is the duty of the Press while watching over the Independence of the Bench, on the one hand to interfere where Government attempts to compel from a Judge a decision, when the Government itself is interested either directly or indirectly in the result; and on the other to prevent suitors from compelling from the Judge a decision in their favor by means of intimidation. We have known a man become so powerful in a district, by having been successful in having a judge or magistrate removed, that it became impossible for any judicial officer who did not wish to risk his good name in the service, to decide against him. The secret system of the Government has a great deal to do with this. A petition is often privately forwarded to the Government, as was the case with the charges against Mr. Shawe the Judge of Sylhet. The substance of which is given in another column. The Government sends the petition to the Commissioner, and orders him to make a private enquiry as to the truth, or likelihood of the truth of the charges. The Commissioner arrives at the station, under

the pretence perhaps of making his usual tour, collects information from any sources, as he may please. Perhaps he gives the plaintiff an opportunity of stating his charges, perhaps he dines with the accused and hears only his version of the story, as we believe was the case when Mr. Davidson reported upon the Christian quarrel at Burrisaul; for, as we have heard, he not only did not give Mr. Page a hearing when he visited him on board his boat, but told him that he had not come to Burrisaul on business connected with that case. And yet we believe that Mr. Davidson did make a report to Government upon this case, dated soon after that visit to Burrisaul.— We have been told by officers of the 6th regiment, that when Mr. Davidson visited Jumalpore while the quarrel betweeen Colonel Cumberledge and Mr. Cockburn the Deputy Magistrate was going on, not one of them had the slightest idea that he had come to report on that subject, and yet we have reason to believe that it was upon the report then drawn up by Mr. Davidson, that Lord Dalhousie acted, when he suspended Colonel Cumberledge for six months, and removed him from command of the regiment. What officer can feel himself safe, when he knows that at any time an accusation of he knows not what, may be referred against him by a disappointed suitor in his court, an accusation to which he may never have an opportunity of replying, and yet he maybe removed from the district upon a report founded upon that accusation, and the result of enquiries which he never knew were going on?—Such accusations are becoming very frequent against native Principal Sudder ameens, who are, we may explain for the information of our English readers, the Judges of the highest Company's courts of first instance in Civil Suits.

We published a fortnight ago Mr. Scott, our Judge's acquittal of Moulavie Nazim our Principal Sudder Ameen of a set of charges which were most recklessly and without seemingly the slightest foundation brought against him by a Mooktiar, a man of straw, set up it is believed by other more influential parties. The enquiry was we think, with all due deference to Mr. Scott's better judgment, too much prolonged. The charges were such as either could not be proved, or a reference to documents in Court, which would not have taken above a few hours, would have disproved. And yet the investigation lasted more than two months, leaving the disgrace and anxiety attending upon it hanging over the Principal Sudder Ameen, and perhaps encouraging others to take the same means of annoying him.

He had been no sooner relieved from this accusation than another is brought against him. In a case pending between two Armenian gentlemen which is going on a one of the courts at Burrisaul, a Commision was issued by the judge of that court, directing Moulavie Nazim to take the evidence of several of the members of the Armenian community in Dacca. He issued the usual summons, and on the day fixed for the evidence to be taken, one of the most respectable of the Armenian gentlemen in Dacca, who had been summoned to give his evidence, went to the Principal Sudder

Ameen's court, and said, that he was willing to give his evidence, but as he understood that many of the questions to be put were not only irrelevant to the case, but tended to injure the reputation of not only one, but of many of the most honored members of their nation, he would beg the Principal Sudder Ameen to look over these questions, and to decide whether they were such as should be put. The Principal Sudder Ameen consented to do so, and put off taking the evidence that day. The next day Mr. Stephen, one of the parties in the case, presented a petition to Mr. Pearson the Officiating Judge, stating that he had no hopes of the evidence being properly taken by Moulavie Nazim—forgetting that it was the part of his vakeel to put the questions in cross examination of the witnesses—and the reasons he gave for making this statement were, because the Principal Sudder Ameen had been, for the last two years, in treaty with him for the purchase of a piece of ground, which, from certain family circumstances it was not in his power to sell; and because he had made delays in two cases of execution of decrees, in which he, Mr. Stephen, was concerned.--Mr. Pearson, in our judgment improperly, called on the Principal Sudder Ameen to give an answer to this petition. We say improperly—for, the Commission having been issued by a court in Burrisaul, we submit that any objection to the Commission being directed to the Principal Sudder Ameen in Dacca, ought to have been urged in the court in Burrisaul, which had it in its power to revoke that Commision, and to appoint another; and therefore we think that Mr. Pearson had no jurisdiction in the matter at all. And moreover, the accusation being one which involved the fitness of the Principal Sudder Ameen for sitting on the Bench at all, we submit that the accusation ought to have been forwarded either to the Sudder Dewanny, or to the Government of Bengal.—The Principal Sudder Ameen instead of refusing to reply to the requisition of the Judge, which we think is the course he ought to have pursued, gave in an answer, showing that, with regard to the piece of land, he had as it had become a source of annoyance to him, by all sorts of nuisances being committed there, requested Mr. Stephen either to cultivate the land himself, or to sell it to him:—and as to the execution of decree cases, they had been delayed by circumstances over which he had no control, such as the death of parties in the causes rendering it necessary to issue new notices of action &c.--We think the Principal Sudder Ameen has quite cleared himself, but it must be humiliating to a man, who like him has been twenty, or five and twenty years a judge, to be called upon once a week or so, to answer such charges; which he may be called upon to do if the Judge acts as Mr. Pearson has done in this case...

3.1.1857

THE CIVIL SERVICE

We have been sometimes asked by our Civilian friends whether we expect that the Competition-wallahs[২৯] will be a bit better than they have been. To this question we freely answer, that if the close service

is preserved, we do not think they will, except that they may chance to have better constitutions than young men born in India, and whose parents, and their parents before them have also been born here to say nothing of the hereditary race of India's reulers having been injured by much intermarriage. One of the arguments used against the competition men is, that they will not be gentlemen, which, it is said, all in the present service are.— We allow that there are many gentlemen in the service as present constituted, but there are also consummate blackguards. A good education, temperance, honesty, government of the passions, and a respect for the feelings of others, will make any man a gentleman. A provincial accent and thick shoes, with some awkwardness in the proper disposal of his hands will not make him the contrary. We are sure that the Competition men will have the first qualification of a gentleman we have mentioned. There is as much chance that they will be possessed of the others, as young civilians of the present race, who may not even be possessed of the first qualification, and certainly do not possess it in so great a degree as the men who have been chosen but of all England for their pre-eminence in that qualification.—It is said that men who have studied as hard as these men must have done, will probably have injured their constitutions. We have shown that the nominees of the Court of Directors have not much to boast of in the way of constitution, but we cannot by any means admit that men who have been hard students, have tried their constitutions so much as many idle men. We have distinct recollections of many idle men in our own college days, who laid the foundation of future disease by too ardent a pursuit of field sports in which they were exposed to cold and wet, and by drinking and other excesses. Sir Robet Peel[৩০] was a very distinguished man at college, but the FRIEND OF INDIA and others who-think as he does, would have conferred an Indian appointment on the Marquis of Waterford in preference to Sir Robert, because the former was the better rider. Let not the FRIEND accuse us of misrepresenting him. A reference to his files of last year, and to the article on the Civil Service in Blackwood, written either by Mr. Marshman[৩১] or by a disciple of the FRIEND"S will fully bear out what we have stated.

Balancing then the education of the competitionwallah and the injury he has done to his health by study, against the gentlemenliness of the Court of Directors' Civilian and the injury he has done to his health by the excesses of Haileybury, we are ready to admit that the one will not suit our purpose a bit better than the other, if both come out under the same system. It is the system that ruins men. We shall give a short sketch of this system, for it is only by a reform in it that we hope to have a reform in the character of our governors.—The instant that a young Civilian lands in India he becomes aware of his own elevation into a rank far above what he had anticipated, even from the adulation of the professors at Haileybury[৩২]. He is very soon aware that he has become

marriageable. Mothers are fond of throwing him into company with Anna Maria or Mary Jane. The good qualities of those young ladies are expatited upon to him in their absence, and his companions assure him that old mother Monybairn is making a dead set at him. He perecives that this is the case—as who would not who was not utterly blind—and his faith in woman, his belief in his own mother and sisters whom he left so lately, is destroyed. He believes that they would act as Mother Monybairn does, and the first deterioration of his nature is completed.—He is told that his pay, handsome in the extreme for a boy of his age, is unfit for a gentleman to live upon. It is impossible to exist without a buggyhorse, and a riding horse or two— one must take exercise in Indian, or one must loss one's health, and one cannot possibly walk, even though the fashion of walking is set by many old civilians. One must entertain—one must subscribe to every thing that is going on— one must give balls—and above all, Baboo Sentpurshent Doss is so ready to furnish the wherewithal for all the things which one must do. The honorable fear of running into debt is destroyed—deterioration number two.— When one goes to the Club or other public places of resort, one meets with old civilians, Sudder Judges, Members of the Board, Commissioners and Judges, who familiarly talk with one, who recognise one as a brother, one of "our service," and who seem to be rather afraid of one especially if one is a little cheeky, and has imported a good many new slang phrases from England, which the old cover dont know. One loses one's respect for age and rank— deterioration number three.— When one is sent to a station in the Mofussil, one is condoled with by all his acquaintances in Calcutta, and by the very Secretaries themselves who inform one of the appointment, at being sent to such a dull place, and hopes are expressed that one may soon return to the capital where alone it is thought that one can exist. One is taught to despise his work— deterioration number four.— When one reaches the station to which he is appointed, instead of being taken in hand by a tight steady man of business, one meets with another "brother, not very active perhaps in the performance of his own duties, and who is but too apt to wink at one's shining his, on the ground that one is but a youngster; and who is too easily led to giving one leave to go the Mofussil to visit a planter friend, and to have a week's pig-sticking with him, because one get civilian oracle had once said, that those who associated with planters generally made good magistrates, and another of the same oracles had said, that if you wished to have good officers, head work did not signify much if a man could go accross country. One is taught to despise the obligations of duty— deterioration number five.— When one is put in charge of a district one happens to be "overtaken" once upon time, a thing that may hapen to the best of man— a thing that it is not wonderful happens to men to have a training such as we have described one's to have been. One neglects some important business, or one's treasury is found to be deficient in a certain number of rupees. Instead of one's being dismissed the service, one finds that every

endeavor is made to hush up a scandal. If one is inclined to drink, one is encouraged to do so, and every one tells one that been a sign of a true Englishman. If one is extravagant one is encouraged to rob the treasury. That, under the existing discipline of the service, more do not do so, is perhaps to be imputed to the fact that it is much easier at present for one to borrow than to rob, and thus one is taught that impunity from punishment is one of the consequences attending upon one's appointment— deterioration number six.— A planter, a European quite one's own equal, whom one, whem he had gone out shooting or hunting with one, had thought a very jolly fellow, happens to accuse one of what one acknowledges in one's own mind to be true, perhaps one of the consequences of one's "overtaken" once. One writes to the Government to explain, and finds that one's excuse however lame, is and accepted as valid, and the accusation, the true accusation, of the planter is characterised as "malicious and scurrilous." One learns to despise public opinion — deterioration number seven.— In a case where the interests of Government and those of an individual or individuals clash together, one confident that the Government is in the wrong decides against Government. By return of post one is removed to an unhealthy and disagreeable district. One learns that our is no more independent, that one is sold body and soul to the East India Company, and that if one does not wish to be poisoned by malaria, or driven to commit suicide by ennui, one must submit in all things to the dictates of one's superiors; one must sacrifice everything on the shrine of the Government — one learns that one is thought with a price, and is a slave to all intents and purposes— deterioration number eight. We will not go on. We think we have shown enough. We need only say that there is deterioration far below our last. As Fagan was more despicable and more guilty than the Dodger, in that he was the means of introducing the Dodger and others to crime, so there are men in the Civil Service who reduce one to depths of deterioration lower even than those we have mentioned. These last are as much more hateful than "one," as the procuress is more hateful than her victim the poor prostitute. If one should show signs of talent, one is chosen to act the part of decoy to the victims, much as the trained female elephants (Koonkees) do, who allure the generous male by their wiles, away from the herd which might afford him support, and enable him to break from the rule which is afterwards imposed upon him when weakened and alone. A Civil Service Koonkee is called a Secretary.— We are far from saying that very clever or talented civilian is fitted to be a Koonkee. We have known men who have refused Koonkeeship from motives as honorable to them as their acceptance would have been degrading.

Unless the whole system is altered— unless the Civilian learns to believe himself superior to other men only in consequence of his own exertions, to fear debt, to respect rank as the reward of honorable toil, to consider himself faulty unless he has done his day's work and done it to the best of his ability, to remember that England, not the

Company, expects each of her sons to do his duty, to remember that duty cannot be discharged unless one is sober and temperate in all things, to fear punishment, to respect public opinion, and to be independent of all but God, and to look to Him and to Him alone as the rewarder and punisher— not, as is too often taught; in a future life but in this life— unless the whole system is altered so as to admit of the hope of reward and the fear of punishment coming into play, the Competitionwallah will deteriorate to the level of his Director-appointed brother. The "person" will be as bad as the "gentleman."— Until the Service is thrown completely open, until the choice of Magistrates, Collectors, Judges, Commissioners is not confined to one particular class, whether selected by a body of men at home, or the result of a competition thrown open to all the men under a certain age in England, all the faults which we now complain of must remain. The change is now only in the mode of entering the service" for crimes however flagrant, because it may be one's own case, or if not, one's son's case one day. If this system is persevered in, we may have to pass through even greater dangers than the mutiny of a faithless army. We are encouraging the influx of Europeans into the country, because forced to do so by the will of the people of England. We are educating the people of the country compelled by the same will. Free born Englishmen and educated natives will not rest contented without a part in the government of themselves. Such self-government cannot co-exist with a close service. Self-government, or at least a voice in the government, will soon be demanded by a voice too powerful to be denied; and the day that that voice is heard, sounds the knell of the close Civil Service whether Court of Director or competition. What we pray is, that our rulers may see this, and may, however they may wish to preserve the existing state of things, yield gradually instead of opposing, so as to convert the river of reform into a gently flowing stream, instead of a foaming and destructive torrent.

20.6.1857

MR. MACKAY OF SYLHET

To The EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS

Sir, — I have remarked more than once that while some of your columns were full of panegeries of the Principal Suder Ameen of Dacca, you did not say a word in praise of a gentleman who really deserves to be thus commended. I mean Mr. Mackay, now Principal Sudder Ameen of Sylhet. One would think this "gentleman is not in your book;" but I have not the least hesitation in believing that it is owing to a more oversight on your part and that you will take advantage of an early opportunity to do justice to him. For you know he is one of the best Principal Sudder Ameens we have in this part of Bengal and is, in my humble opinion, inferior to none in India.

I am an inhabitant of Sylhet and consequently had many opportunities of witnessing the very able manner in which he has

been discharging the duties of his courts since he was transferred to that district. Not to mention his decisions which are considered by all to be first rate once, he is very polite to all those (both native and European) who approach him, while his impartiality and strictness in the distribution of justice have called for the even the admiration of his enemies. In short, he is a right man in the right place and has won golden opinions of all the people of the district except those of his own omlahs who are not, for reasons known only to them, particularly pleased with him.

In conclusion I beg to assure you that I have no ends in view in thus praising Mr. Mackay. I do so because I sincerely believe that what I have said is strictly his due. Should you doubt any of my statements, be so good as to refer to any other inhabitant of Sylhet, whom you may rely upon, and you will, I am sure, find that all those statements are true. Hoping you will kindly insert this in one of your early issues.

Dacca — I am yours most obediently

24th June 1857 — A LOVER OF JUSTICE.

27.6.1857

THE POST MASTER OF DACCA

A Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary of the 29th July, directs the Chief covenanted Civil or Military officer for the time being, at every station where there is a Post Office, to assume charge of the office of Post Master, or to assign charge of the office to any other Covenanted Civil or Military officer at the station. This is as it should be.— We have heard that the Commissioner has made over charge of the Post Office in Dacca to Mr. Carnac. We acknowledge that gentleman's abilities. We allow that we owe to him our safety, by his indefatigable exertions as Magistrate by day and night. We acknowledge that he has at the same time well discharged his duties as Collector— almost a sinecure by the way— even though we had to wait till a quarter to five a day or two ago, before we got some interest, due upon Company's paper, paid to us. But acknowledging that Mr. Carnac is as talented as most men, and that he is endeowd with an iron constitution which can stand all labor, we would respectfully submit that unless the supervision of the Post Office is intended to be a farce, Mr. Carnac cannot do what is expected of him by the Government, even though he could do six things at once. The office of Postmaster has always, up to the time when it was determined to employ natives almost exclusively in such appointments, been held by the Artillery Officer in Dacca. Why should not Mr. Dowell, who has nothing to do, for we would not trust his artillery if he volunteered their services— why should not Mr. Dowell have the Post Office, to which he could devote his almost undivided attention? We know that our Commissioner is fond of an abstruse interpretation of what most

people would consider a simple phrase. We have suffered before this, from his conceiving , that one against whom we had got a decree for a certain sum for defamation of character, was not our debtor, because he had not borrowed money from us. The Governor General's order directs the Chief Covenanted Civil, or Military officer to assume charge of the Post Office. Which of them is to assume it? The Commissioner himself will not assume it. Can he forbid Mr. Dowell, who is the Chief military authority to assume it, as he refuses to do so; We should say— knowing that an imperium in imperio cannot exist in a state without injury to the Commonwealth— that he cannot. But we expect our Commissioner to give us the benefit of the doubt, and to allow a man who really can attend to the duties of the office, and who is not an utter fool, in which case we allow there would be some propriety in passing him over, to be Postmaster, instead of one who is already overburdened with an amount of work, which could not be properly discharged, were ten men of Mr. Carnac's undoubted aptitude for business employed in it. In times of peace we said that the Dacca district ought to be covered with a cloud of magistrates. How much more so in the present time;and yet we have only one man who is both Collector and magistrate, and who has been made Postmaster besides.

Since the above was written we hear that Mr. Carnac has given an order that the post Bags shall be brought to his house and opened in his presence. We object to this entirely. After the bags are opened, the whole of the letters will have to be huddled together, and carried over to the Post Office. Besides the likelihood of letters being really lost, it will always be a ready excuse for the Baboos to say, that a missing letter was lost in transit from Mr. Carnac's house to the Post Office. Mr. Carnac may have been patrolling during the night or attending to police duties. Are we to wait for the opening of the dak till he wakens? If he gives directions that he is to be wakened whenever the dak may arrive, we imagine his sleep-weighed eyelids will not allow his vision to be very sharp. All this would be remedied by making Mr. Dowell Post Master.

8.8.1857

A MUSSULMAN DEPUTY

That the policy of the Civil Servants of the East India Company and the Calcutta Legislative Council in lowering Interloping Europeans in the eyes of the natives is suicidal, is what we have often said— When he has reduced the interloper Smith to stand in the presence of and to be insulted by a low Mahomedan officer, a Judge Tucker cannot be surprised, or ought not to be surprised, that when his own turn comes, he has to beg for his life, and to beg in vain; and not only in vain, but to be refused it with insult heaped upon insult. One portion of the dominant race cannot be humiliated without the other—however heaven born they may consider themselves to be— falling in the estimation of the natives. The only safety for us so long

as we have not an overwhelming force in India, is to hang up in the market place a black hat and a pair of pantaloons, and to cause every turban and every poita (brahminical thread) to bow before them. When we-depart from this policy—when we teach that reverence is due only to a small part of the dominant race, between whom and the interloper the native can see no difference, except that the one has been more lucky in his start in life than the other—we endanger our rule.—The Civil Service sets itself in the place occupied by a hereditary nobility in the West. But the Eastern nations have no such ideas as we connect with hereditary nobility. ,They are accustomed to see a barber or a tailor raised to the Viziership, and they make no objections so long as the individual shows himself able to maintain his position. But they also make no objections, when they see the son of that Vizier beheaded, and his delicate sons and wives and daughters put up for sale in the common market, and knocked down to the highest bidder. They reverence a man so long as he is in power, and shows that he can maintain himself and his relations in power. they cannot understand how a small aristocracy can wish to govern and show all despte to their own brethren.—They see how Englishmen have been degraded by Englishmen, and when their fancied opportunity comes, they degrade even those born in the purple, as they had seen them degrade the commonplace manufacturers of the "blue." The following facts, kindly communicated to us, may serve as an illustration of the policy pursued by the Company of late years, especially under the rule of Messrs Halliday Beadon & Co, by which the prestige of the Briton has been forced to yield to that of the Mussulman.

Kullah Ruhah was a newly formed sub-division of Barasett. Abdool Luteef—a Mahmedan, highly praised by Civilians, and by correspondents in the Indian papers who delighted in writing him up,—took charge of it, and shortly after doing so expressed his belief that Indigo Planting could not exist without great oppression. He was determined to make all Indigo Planters know that he would not permit oppression in future, and that any Ryot who was not disposed to cultivate Indigo would be protected by the Policy. In this he was undoubtedly perfectly right, but unfortunately he forgot to ask whether the ryot had received from the planter any "consideration" for cultivating Indigo. It was enough for him that a ryot complained of a Planter as wishing to compel him to cultivate Indigo. He never enquired whether the Planter had any agreement with the ryot for which a valuable consideration had been given, whereby the latter was bound to cultivate a plant, which from all which has lately been said of it, might be supposed to be even more baleful than the Poppy.—The news of the Deputy Magistrate's determination soon spread. The ryots of most of the villages adjoining Kullah Ruhah, whether they had received advances or not, applied for protection against the oppression of the planter, and this at once granted,

without the least investigation eihter as to whether they were or were not under legal obligations to fulfil contracts or not. The planters oppression was taken for granted. Mr. Larmour the manager of Mulnath says, "I applied for assistance to get my land sown: for if the seed was not then (in April) put into the ground my season was lost. Abdool Luteef referred me to the Civil Courts (seven years being about the average duration of a Civil suit against a pauper whose labor for a couple of days was all that was required,) and said the ryots, the contractors who had taken my money to do certain work for me, might please themselves. Upon this order being given, some of the villages which had already sown Indigo began breaking it up. I again addressed the deputy Magistrate, stating that Indigo was being destroyed in villages within two miles of Kullah Ruhah, and entreated of him to satisfy himself, that by the orders he had passed, he was giving every encouragement to the ryots to ruin the property of which I was the manager. He sent his head Mohurrer to investigate. I went myself to meet him on the ground, and actually seized ploughs and cattle in the very act of breaking up plant. The Mohurrer's report was not put in for some days. He demanded Rs 100 for it which was considered unreasonable in the extreme." When one can get a man not only to tell a lie but to swear to a lie for eight annas, it seems rather hard, however much truth may be more valuable than falsehood, to have to pay Rs. 100 merely to get a man to speak the truth. "The Mohurrer's excuse however, of being unwell—the sowing season was going—could not be got over without the cash, and the amount had to be paid to get the report sent in.—The order passed on the report was "Nathee ka Shamil" (let it be shelved). The Deputy Magistrate sent for the Ryots, and informed them that their conduct was improper, but that there was no law to punish them."

Mr. Mackenzie of Jingergatchia was also a sufferer from this follower of the prophet. Mr. Larmour and he addressed a joint petition to Mr. Bidwell the Commissioner. He referred it to Mr. Hope at Bárasett, who referred it to the Magistrate of Nuddea. In the meantime the lands remained unsown, and the Factory servants afraid to approach the villages in which they had advanced large sums of the Factory money for work to be done. Mr. Larmour's Assistant Mr. Goodenough was attacked and obliged to ride for his life. Ryots who had never expressed the slightest discontent either broke up or eat down by cattle their Indigo. The injured parties wrote to the Magistrate of Kishnaghur detailing the doings of the Deputy. His reply was that they might appeal to the Judge, as the Deputy had "full powers" and he could not interfere. How often have we not seen when a favored nigger has been oppressed, or said or imagined that the was oppressed, the whole of his cases called out of the court of the Deputy holding "full powers," and decided as the nigger wished.

But it was too much to expect that this should be done for a "coarse interloper."

The ryots put in a petition to say that Mr. Larmour had collected a body of men at Peepragatchia Factory. This was utterly false. The Darogah of Khagoozpoosharea was ordered out to investigate. He reported that Mr. Larmour had no men collected, and that he was only peaceably doing all in his power to induce the ryots who had taken advances to sow his Indigo. On this report going in to our friend the Mussulman Deputy—without any further enquiry—he wrote on the back of it, "You are in league with the Saheb, your report is false and if there is any breach of the peace I will discharge you."—No redress could be had, and Peepragatchia, a factory which usually made 70 maunds of Indigo, worth at 150 rupees a maund, Rs 10,500, made 12 maunds worth Rs 1,800.—Mr. Mackenzie of Jingergatchia was even worse off. His agent in Calcutta, however, Mr. William Fergusson, addressed a letter to the Government of Bengal on the subject. The Liutenant Governor instantly orderd an enquiry. Mr. Hope from Barasett and Mr. Lawford from Kishnaghur conducted it. Their reports were to the effect that they could not justify the deputy Magistrate's conduct, but that he was an excellent officer, and he was not biassed against the planters!

Mr. Goodenough was called as a witness to the Deputy's court in the month of May. He had to ride twelve miles accross country, over ploughed lands. there were not ten yards of "cantering ground" between his factory and the Deputy Magistrate's cutcherry, so that the twelve miles were equivalent to twenty four of ordinary riding. The Deputy's cutcherry was a low confined native hut. Mr. G. was a man of a full habit of body. He was done up, and the heat of the Cutcherry was hardly bearable. He requested to be allowed to sit down while giving his evidence. The Deputy replied "Certainly not," after he had given his evidence he might either sit down or walk away as he chose.—Since that time how many Civilians and their wives and daughters have stood before the Mussulmans in whom they have encouraged this insolence, and asked for life itself, or even death for their females without dishonor, and both requests have been denied to them. Sad--sad, has been the policy which encouraged the insolence of the black-hearted native and degraded before him the loyal European, the brother—by blood, by country, by religion, perhaps even by birth or relationship—of him, who ignoring all these ties, looked in a despicable spirit of selfishness only to himself and his own advancement.

The Lieutenant Governor granted redress to the planters by merely removing Abdool Luteef.[৩৩] There has been no desperate differerce between the planter and the ryot since his departure, as

there had been none before his arrival.—The Mussulman while insulting and trying to ruin the interloping Christains, which he was unable to effect,—would that they had been equally unable to effect the destruction and dishonor of Christain Civilians in other quarters—kept within the "letter" of the law with Messrs Larmour and Mackenzie. We are sorry to say that we are submitted to a Mussulman, who also keeps within the letter of the law.He punishes all over servants who are brought before him severely, and he dismisses all cases we bring against other parties. The law says there is no appeal from an order of dismissal, so that, though we may happen to rescue from the clutches of the law a few of our condemned servants, against whom there is so little evidence that even civilians with strong Mussulman prejudices dare not condemn them, it is still impossible for us to get any one who may injure us punished, because there is no appeal from a case dismissed by a bigoted and time serving Mahomedan Darogah, elevated to a Deputy Magistrateship by a Company's Civilian. who had destroyed his intellect by having sounded the very depths even of Oriental debauchery. Our Mussulman Deputy "keeps within the letter of the law," for he dismisses all our complaints, and as there is no appeal from a dismissal, there is no investigation as to whether the case is justly dismissed or not.—Abdool Luteef kept within the letter of Civilian-interpreted law which, however, is neither natural justice nor anything else—for real law, that law for the establishment of which each man has consented to give up a portion of that perfect liberty to do any thing he likes, which he has from nature,—real law would never have permitted Abdool Luteef to inslult and ruin Messrs Larmour, Mackenzie and Goodenough.—That Abdool Luteef did not offend against law, we may gather from the following extract from an order by that faithful servant of the Prophet, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal who thus writes:— "It is clear to His Honor, however, that without imputing to Moulavie Abdool Luteef anything worse than a great want of caution and judgment, a neglect of usual courtesy, and some appearance of prejudice," (insignificant disqualifications in one who is both the judge and the exceutive in his own decress) he has so conducted himself in a district largely devoted to the cultivation of Indigo, as to render it on the whole desirable he should now be employed elsewhere.

- The Lieutenant Governor proposes therefore to take the opportunity of Baboo Kassessur Mitro's appointment to the Junior Magistracy of Calcutta, and transfer Moulavie Abdool Luteef to the Subdivision of Jehanabad." (The Italics throughout this quotation are ours). Messrs Larmour, Mackenzie and Goodenough may thank their stars that Baboo Kassessur Mitra was made Junior Magistrate of Calcutta, for if it had. not been for this "opportumity," the

Lieutenant Governor might never have been his way clearly to giving them relief, till they were all three safely ledged on the detors' side of No. I Chowringhee; or, if the Black Acts had been passed, which they would have been but for the mutinies, they would have been pounding soorkee, on making gunny bags or paper in the Kishnaghur Jail.- we are sick of the idea the interlopers have of developing the resources of the country. Dont they know that the country was made for the Mussulmans and their Gholaums the Civilians? What business have they to poke their noses in to develop its resources? The civilians idea evidently is that the best way in which they can do so is to weave gunny bags in the jail, to export rice, linseed and other "resources" in.

24.6.1857

MR. PEARSON'S SPEECH

We have one or two words to say in a kindly spirit to our friend Mr. Pearson, who, at the Volunteer's dinner caught himself quite unawares, "singing the praises" of the Civil Service. If Mr. Pearson had been an older orator (we were all young enough—none we believe having ever spoken before), he would have avoided that most dangerous mode of argument (and we would recommend this to the especial attention of the FRIEND OF INDIA), of first creating an opponent and then knocking him down. Mr. Pearson introduced a friend, who proposed to him that "the service " should be thrown open, and asked that friend how much wider it could be thrown open than it is now, when any one who can excel his fellows in a prescribed examination, is admitted to it whoever may be his relatives, whatever his caste or creed. Mr. Pearson's friend could not or did not answer him. We think Mr. Pearson's friend must have been a very silly fellow, and could not have known what he wanted when he demanded that the service should be thrown open, or he could have found no difficulty in answering Mr. Pearson. Mr. Pearson and his friend must surely see, that the competition system leaves the service as closed as ever. It is only the price of the ticket of admission that is changed. Formerly one had to be a son, or a cousin, or a nephew, or a step-son, cousin, nephew, of the Court of Directors; or a relation of a poor but influential member of parliament to be admitted into the sacred service. After admission the door was closed. The person admitted if he did well enjoyed himself and rose to the highest rank, governing men and receiving money. If he did ill, the door was still equally closed. Should he turn out a drunkard or a thief, it did not matter; he could not be turned out of a service which would not allow to the world that imperfection could exist in its ranks. The drunkard was supplied with the wherewithal to drink him

if to death, and the thief was considerately placed in a situation where there was nothing to steal. As for the minor sins of lying, adultery, fornication, worshipping false gods, breaking the sabbath, they were nought considered of, nor are they now. ....— It has been often said of late, that the Govenors of this country can do nothing in their private capacities. Lord Ellenborough[৩৮] said that Lord Canning could not subscribe to a Missionary Society, without its being considered by the people as a sign that the Government of the East India Company favored the subversion or conversion of the people to Christianity. Be it so:— We have often seen the Commissioner, Judge, Magistrate, and the other authorities of a district, present at a beastly festival in honor of Doorga. In fact there are few even now who consider it wrong to frequent such festivals. According to Lord Ellenborough then, according to the ENGLISHMAN, according to the Court of Directors, according to Captain Richardson long editor of the FRIEND OF INDIA, who did not lift up his voce against these things, or if he now and then did so, gave but an "uncertain sound," the East India Company gave their countenance, through their servants, to the worship of Doorga by their attendnce at festivals in his honor. Poor Lord Canning merely gave a cheque to the Missionaries as he might hvave done to any other beggars, whether a Moollah begging for a Mosque, or a Pundit for a Hindoo temple, to get rid of them, and was called to question for encouraging the worship of Christ by having done so. The servants of the Company actually worshipped Doorga, by being present at her festivals, and were never blamed for such worship. In the eyes of the Company then, it is no sin to worship Doorga. It is one to worship Christ.

But we have forgotten the admission to the Civil Service altogether, and the closing of the door. Formerly, as we have said, nepotism was the ticket which opened the door to $ 300 a year dead or alive, besides the chances of $3,000 or $6,000 or even $9,000. Now it is talent, or to speak more properly that faculty which enables a mân to pass through examinations with great eclat, but which does not prevent his turning out a very ordinary individual after all. But whatever the ticket, the door still remains, closed—the service is an exclusive service.

Now what we mean, and what we have no doubt Mr. Pearson's friend meant, by the service being thrown open, is not, as Mr. Pearson supposes, that there should be no regular service, that we should take " any smartish stirring fellow" and make him a Commissioner without any previous training, even though in the Service we have seen a man such as the late John Colvin, who had never been a judge in his life, taken and thrust upon the bench of the highest court of appeal, where he played such havoc with property as only those who like ourselves have experienced it can properly

appreciate. We are far from advocating the taking any "smartish stirring fellow" and thrusting him into any situation. We have seen too much ruinous evil arise from this, which is the Civil Service system, to advocate anything of the sort. What training for a Judge's office, we would ask Mr Pearson, had he himself the first day he sat upon the bench when he had to decide a Civil suit, involving perhaps lakhs—what training had Mr. Pearson? Far less than that of many a"smartish stirring fellow" who may have been managing zemindarees and who was far more fitted to sit upon the bench than he was, simply from his knowing infinitely more of Macpherson's Procedure and Marshman's Civil Guide than he did. But though the "smartish stirring" manager of zemindarees, well skilled in Macpherson and Marshman, might and would be an infinitely better Judge than any Civilian, who in addition to ignorance brings with him to the bench a subservience to the "demi-officials" of Secretaries, and the interests of Government, which would not be brought by the "smartish fellows," the latter are not the men whom we mean to be elevated to the bench when we call for the opening of the service. There is such a service as the Uncovenanted, to which have been committed much greater powers than even to the Covenanted. Mr. James Reily, now hoary with age, and moss-grown with damp, having been condemned to one of the dampest and most unhealthy or the stations of Bengal, for having given a just judgment, even although warned by Secreatries, against the East India Company, is acknowledged even by his bitterest enemies to be one of the best and soundest judges in Company's law in Bengal. Why can he not rise above being a Principal Sudder Ameen on a salaryof Rs.600 a month to be a Judge of the Sudder on Rs. 4,000 ?

21.11.1857

মিশনারী ও নীলকর

[মিশনারীদের কোম্পানী সরকার কখনও খুব একটা পছন্দ করে নি, নীলকররাতো নয়ই, কারণ, মিশনারীরা প্রায়ই নীলকরদের অত্যাচারের বিবরণ তুলে ধরে বিচারের দাবি করতেন। এ ক্ষেত্রে 'নীল দর্পণ' সংক্রান্ত মামলায় রেভারেন্ড লংয়ের ভূমিকা উল্লেখ যোগ্য। 'ঢাকা নিউজ'ও লংয়ের সামালোচনা করেছে। একটি সংখ্যায় লং-কে "most amusing persons" হিসেবে উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে। নীলকররা বলতে চেয়েছে,তারা অনুগত খৃষ্টান, ধর্মের সঙ্গে তাদের বিবাদ নেই। এবং শান্তিপূর্ণভাবে তারা বাণিজ্য করছে। অর্থ উপার্জনেতো আর বাধা নেই। মিশনারীরা এ ব্যাপারটিই অনুধাবন করছেন না কারণ এ বিষয়ে তারা জানেন না। নীলকরদের হয়ে 'ঢাকা নিউজ' মন্তব্য করেছে—
"The planters in argument, have a great advantage over the Missionaries. they all know, at least all who have written on the subject know, the requirements of the christian religion. But the misionary does not know what Indigo planting is, and what the effect of a certain course advocated by the planters, which from the very words perhaps in which it is expressed, seems to be a harsh one, but is in reality that calculated to work out the greatest happiness of the greatest number, which is, we imagine, the object both of christianity and the philosophy of Bentham."

উপর্যুক্ত সংকলনে এই মনোভাবই স্পষ্ট হয়ে উঠেছে। তারা যে অনুগত খৃষ্টান এটি প্রমাণের জন্য প্রায়ই পত্রিকায় ধর্ম বিষয়ক নিবন্ধ ছাপা হতো। উদাহরণ হিসেবে এখানেঐ ধরনের কয়েকটি নিবন্ধ সংকলিত হলো।]

তথ্যপঞ্জি

বাংলায় মিশনারীদের কর্মকান্ডের বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন—

Muhamad Mohar Ali, *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities (1833-57)*, Chittagong, 1965.

সংকলন

ADVERTISEMENT

SEVERAL friends having urged me to reply to the most unfair, as I cannot help considering it, attack of the FRIEND OF INDIA, in his paper of the 8th May, I here beg to state, that I consider it almost unnecessary to do so; as with the bane, he supplied the antidote, by publishing my article from the Oriental Baptist; a perusal of which will, I think, show to any impartial person, that my deductions from facts, which the FRIEND acknowledges to be accurate, are not "illogical". I do not think I have perverted Scripture, nor inculcated slave driving maxims. The passage the FRIEND quotes in support of this assertion is as follows, — "But would the converts who could not pass through a little tribulation be worth much? would the sincerity of an enquirer be so manifest as it now is ? is it such followers that our Saviour calls for, when he warns us to take up our cross and follow him ?" Mr. Underhill, the Secretary to the Baptist Mission, was, when I met him, much greater advocate for leaving the Native converts to fight their own battle with the world, than I was or am. To the protection they received from their pastors, and to their habit of looking to them for support in every difficulty, he ascribed the weakness of the Native churches. —The plan that I have always advocated is that the Missionaries should become possessors of a talook or small Zemindaree, to which, as to a city of refuge, the converts might flee from persecution. —What I oppose is, that the Missionaries should interpose in secular matters between land-lord and tenant; matters of whch they can be no judges, and ought not to be allowed to judge. Of what use would the Collector's decree for rent be, if the Missionary were to be allowed to set it aside, because he fancied that it have been obtained, as the ryot would be sure to tell him it had, by means of forged documents, and suborned witnesses? This would be nothing but the establishing of an *imperium in imperio*, the constituting a little Popedom in every Zillah.

The FRIEND, from his ignorance of the real state of the Mofussil, is in error when he supposes, that the object of the Zemindar in making advancs to the ryot is any other, than the hope of an increased return from the ryot for the capital so laid out. He establishes no right of a creditor over his debtor, as the FRIEND Supposes; for, if the ryot runs away, he loses his advances altogether. He is not mad enough to throw good money after bad by suing him in the Moonsiff court; where, at the end of three years, and at the expense of double or treble the sum for which he sues, he may get a decree against a pauper; or he may be nonsuited upon a wrong valuation of the suit, or a mistake in the definition of boundaries, or some other of the numrous methods, by which the Juages of our Civil Courts espape from giving a decision.

I hope the planters like the description the FRIEND has given of them. Fine, rollicking "Prodigal," "benevolent," "merciless" blades they must be. At one time, I suppose, thrashing their wives — I beg pardon—mistresses—a mistress is always a necessary concomitant of the Planter, in the paintings of the school to which the FRIEND belongs; —at another pouring into her lap half the contents of Madame Gervain's shop. If the Planter is compelled, as the FRIEND says he is, "to live at variance with the law of the land," why blame him for doing so? If he is so "compelled," there must surely be some fault either in the "law of the land," or in the way in which it is administered. —"He is compelled," says the FRIEND, "to reduce the ryot or independant *feuar* to the condition of a day laborer,"— because "he requires large supplies of labor only at certain period." Does all the male population of Bengal consist of "independant feuars"? —Is the Planter the only man who requires "large supplies of labor at certain periods"? —Messrs Burn & Co. who are building the Mitford Hospital in Dacca, have, one week three or four hundred laborers,— the next only ten or twelve. The Municipal Committee of Dacca had a month ago, 150 laborers; —now they have only 20. But we have not heard that either Messrs. Burn & Co. or the Municipal Committee, reduced any independent feuars."

This "yeo man", as the Friend is pleased to call the ryot a little farther on, *starves* much oftener or the "profit of his land", in districts where there is no Indigo—to put money in to circulation to raise the price of the produce of the land and to give employment to the "independent feuars" at those seasons of the year when they have little work— than in the districts covered like the houses and Factories of the "merciless" planter. —Let the FRIEND get specimens of "independent feuars" from Mymensing and Tipprah and compare them with the "yeo men" of Jessore and Kishnaghur.

I had not least intention to "discuss my identity" as the FRIEND insinuates I had; but it is not customary in writers in the Oriental Baptist to sign the articles they contrbute.

I trust the FRIEND will give this admission into his paper.

Dacca, 19th May 1856. A. Forbes

PLANTERS AND CHRISTIANITY

We have received the ORIENTAL BAPTIST for december. It contains a letter from J. J. on the subject of "Planters, Ryots, Zemindars and Christianity." This article, written evediently by a thinking man shows more than anything we have seen the necessity of a Commission to this Country to collect evidence—to make a Blue Book in fact—to which every one may refer for the truth as filtered through different minds, from which the unprejudiced mind, as far as the mind of man can be so, may glean the real state of the case. J. J. knows nothing about Indigo Planting and sees everything through Missionary spectacles. He bewilders himself in trying to reconcile

the statements of planters in Tirhoot, with those of planters in Bengalee ryots. Any boy who had been six months a planter, could give him the clue to these seeming contradictions. The Planters, in argument, have a great advantage over the Missionaries. They all know, at least all who have written on the subject know, the requirements of the Christian religion. But the Missionary does not know what Indigo Planting is, and what the effects of a certain course advocated by the planters, which from the very words perhaps in which it is expressed, seems to be a harsh one, but is in reality that calculated to work out the greatest happiness of the greatest number, which is, we imagine, the object both of Christianity and the philosphy of Bentham. For instance J. J. seems to acknowledge the reasonableness of the principle of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, but he cannot exactly reconcile it with the precept of our Savior, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." But all who believe in Jesus Christ, acknowledge that there is nothing in his philosophy contrary to reason.— We purposely use the word "philosophy," to prevent the cavilling of those, whether Heathen or nominally Christian, who might object to our argument on the ground of our attributing any higher authority to His dicta.— If we acknowledge that the principle is reasonable, and that the precept seems to contradict it, we ought to doubt rather our own power of reconciling the two, than either the principle or the precept. But those who have experience in mercantile matters, will acknowledge, that following the principle is the best way of working out the precept. Anyone who went against the principle from a mistaken notion of compassion, would soon find his means exhausted, and that he would be no longer able to fulfil the precept. But if he follow the principle, he will find that the great profit he makes, will not only allow him again to enter the file, but will bring into it many others who would not engage in the business at all, unless for the hope of the profit which they learned had been made. Let us take an example familiar to ourselves. It was discovered in England that the article Jute, was useful for a great many purposes of what might be called adulteration. For instance., a poor woman wanted to have a silk gown, but was not able to afford the price of real silk. It was found that by mixing a certain proportion of Jute with silk, a fabric was produced much lower in price than the real silk dress, but still having much of its appearance. Jute came into demand for this manufacture. It was soon found that the like was the case with regard to broad cloth, alpaca, and many other fabrics. A demand arose for Jute. Eight years ago, Jute was selling in Dacca for five annas a maund, and there were but few cultivatiors, so small was the demand, and so little profit did it give to the cultivator. Now supposing J. J. had gone into the market with a fortune of Rs1,00,000, and had in his benevolent spirit paid10 annas a maund, and lost Rs50,000 by the speculation, the result would have been that his power of doing good would have been reduced by one half, and that the hard, calculating, worldly men would not, next year, have bought

a maund of Jute, because they had heard of the loss (but few men enquire into the cause of losses) that Mr Goodman had made in Jute. The poor man the ryot, would have been the sufferer. He would have been deprived of a crop which now almost relieves him from his anxieties about the rice. But suppose on the other hand, as was really the case, Mr. Wordly wiseman had gone into the market, and bought up all he could at 5, kor if he could possibly do so at $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas per maund, and had made his fortune by doing so, the result would happen, which really did happen, that all the Worldywisemen in India wished to buy Jute, and the price actually received by the ryot at the present day is from Rs.1.12 to Rs 2.12 per maund. The Worldly wisemen in England hearing of the profits made by Brother Worldly wiseman who had taken to using Jute, constructed machinery for the express purpose of spinning it, and the consequence was, that the ryot in India had paid to him, nine times the price that he received eight years before for his raw produce, and the servant girl in England could wear a silk gown, without paying for it the earnings of a life time, or robbing her mistresses till in order to purchase it.

J. J. quotes largely from the DACCA NEWS. We are sorry to see he does not in many cases understand our arguments. That is probably our fault. But in one case he has found a most egregious mare's nest. he says, "the more crafty of our opponents are endeavouring to draw us off our path, by inducing us to follow them into intricate discussions on comparatively unimportant subjects." As an instance of this he mentions an article in the DACCA NEWS "on the question. What is a Khodkhast Ryot?" Now that article was written at the request of the Secretary to the Indigo Planters' Association, without the slightest reference to the dispute between certain Missionaries and the planters, and indeed in utter forgetfulness that there was such a dispute in existence. As well might the HINDOO PATRIOT who had written on the subject some weeks before our article appeared. be accused of having attempted to lead the Missionaries from their path. All we have to say with regard to the article in question is, that it.was a sincere attempt to ascertain what the rights of the ryot are as defined by law, and that in it are embodied the results of our own experience in Zemindaree management, and in the Civil law of the country, combined with a careful study of the Regulations and minutes on the subject. We have also to acknowledge the valuable assistance of friends eminently distinguished by their knowledge of Revenue matters, in preparing the article.

J. J. regrets that steps have not been taken by certain planters, to disprove the charges brought against them by the HINDOO PATRIOT. We cannot say whether these charges were true or not, but this we can say, that not one planter in a thousand sees any paper but the ENGLISHMAN, which journal makes it a rule to give no extracts from its Bengal contemporaries.—We ourselves acknowledge with gratitude that an exception has once or twice been made in our favor.—As for the "heinous charges" brought by the

Mofussilite, they also are made by one to whom we have no opportunity of replying. We never saw a copy of the MOFUSSILITE in our life. We should be very grateful to our contemporary if he would exchange with us, but we suppose we are too small to expect such a favor.

One word more. An article upon the Revd. Mr Cuthbert in the DACCA NEWS of the 23rd of August is characterised by J. J. as "scurrilous and vulgar." It may be both, but we would infinitely rather have been the author of that article, than of that by Mr. Cuthbert, filled with falsehood, malice, and abuse, on which it commented.

13.12.1856

A ROYAL COMMISSION.

If the present system is to continue, the only man fit for the Government of Bengal is the Editor of the FRIEND OF INDIA. He has written an article in his issue of the 11th December, demonstrating in the most able manner how foolish the Government was, following the advice of Mr. Halliday, to refuse the prayer of the Missionaries for an enquiry "into the condition of the people of India and the means of improving it." He says first, but this remark is made as it were *en passant*, that the reply of the Government of India was "courteous." It is surely not unfair to conclude from this that the replies of the Government of India to petitioners in general are not courteous. All that we can say, having had occasion to petition the Government of India, on several occasions is, that the reply of that Government is generally a contemptuous silence; and that too, even when the questions agitated are so momentous to the general prosperity, as the currency, or Steam communication with important provinces.—But to return to the petition—what was prayed for was, if we may believe Mr. Cecil Bedon's [৩৫] letter, and enquiry into the condition of the people of India. This, says the FRIEND, "was too broad;" but, says he, it was an enquiry only into the condition of the people of Bengal that was wished for; for, was not the petition presented to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and is it not only in Bengal, that Zemindars and Planters, the natural enemies of the Missionary, exist?—And here is a notable instance of the fact which would fit the FRIEND to be a Governor; the knowledge and the appreciation of the maxim *"diride et impera"* he sets Christian against Christian, the Missionary against the Planter, when he knows as well as we know, that, with the exception of one or two men, the ablest supporter the Missionary could meet with is the Planter. Both are desirous of Peace and Good will towards all men. The Missionary because he knows that such is the end of his Master's commands; the Planter for the same reason, and also because he knows that this is the way in which to obtain the largest profits from his Indigo. There is not a planter that does not look upon *Mukudama kurch*—the expence of lawsuits—as so much taken off the profit of the season, and who

would not willingly pay an anna or two annas per bigah of additional rent, if he were thereby secured from the expense, the trouble, the interruption to business, of perpetual lawsuits.—The FRIEND would have granted the Commission of enquiry; for, "if the enquiry were too wide, it was in the power of Government to restrict it. No attempt was made to dictate as to details. It might have embraced every relation of life, as they (the Missionaries) "*seem to have apprehended.* It might have been restricted, as we advised, into an enquiry as to the food, clothes, shelter of the race by whose sweat are thrive."— Oh the FRIEND is the only Governor for India ! He would make no such blunders as Mr. Halliday. If we had enquired only into the "food, clothes and shelter of the race by which we thrive," and if the Commission had taken only five or six yerar to give in its report—and that is but a moderate time, since Mr. Plowden took three years to give in his salt report—the reign of the Company might have been prolonged for that time at least.—And then what would have been the result? The food might have been proved to be rice with a little too much husk upon it, the thread of the clothing might have been ascertained to be in some cases unevenly spun, and the shelter might have been asserted to let in the rain after it had been erected for more than ten years.— But what we want would have been completely passed over. We assert that Bengal—if the FRIEND will have the enquiry confined to Bengal—has justice administered to it by children, or by fools. No enquiry would have been made whether the Magistrates were children, or the judges fools.— We assert that, from the incompetency of our financiers, the whole world is, what the French call gene in its circulating medium. The misdoings of our dishonest and drunken collectors would have been left unrevealed. We assert that, from the incompetency of our Magistrates, Murder and Robbery, and Rape and Arson, are every-day, may hourly, occurrences in the land. all this would have been left unrevealed. We assert that there are men now in the Bengal Civil service, who, had they been in the army would have been long ago cashiered— may some transported as felons. The Commissioners would have reported that " all was well" in Bengal, and therefore in India, for where no Planters are, there is no outcry. Verily the FRIEND ought to be Governor of Bengal.

The FRIEND objects to the appointment of a Royal Commission, a Commission composed of Englishmen, on the ground that "with Sir Philip Francis" whom he calls Sir P. Francis, "they would moan over the want of stockings."— We beg to offer a few arguments in favor of a Royal Commission, composed of Englishmen not accustomed to this country. We need scarcely mention that it was an Englishman, Mr Danby Seymour, who knew nothing about India, who first directed public attention to torture as the means of extorting Revenue in Madras. We may add to this that the FRIEND OF INDIA, or at least the Calcutta correspondent of the TIMES, whom we have before indentified with the FRIEND, allows in his letter to that journal, of the 8th September last, that there is not a financier in India. Any one

who knows anything of the Provincial Treasuries of India, knows that they hold for six and nine months at a time large sums of silver lying perfectly idle: that the consequence of this is, that much larger quantities of bullion are required from Europe for the payment of the rapidly increasing exports of the country than would otherwise be the case. An Englishman well trained in the Commercial systems of Europe, would be able to recognise this evil at once: which and no one has a better right to make this assertion than we have not one of those engaged in the financial department some two years ago, was able to do but Lord Dalhousie him self. Such a man we require in any Commission appointed to this country. — We require an English constitutional lawyer, or at the very least, one who has read Blackstone's Commentaries to recognise the enormities which our Judges commit every day. We require one who has been accustomed to acknowledge freedom of discussion as one of the great means whereby not only information but liberty is acquired, to appreciate the despotism which renders the signature of one's name to a discussion about the affairs of a Bank in a public print, an act of courage deserving of praise.— In fact we require a Commission of Englishmen. Men that have been a year in India will not do.

20.121856

[Revd. Mr. Long]

THE REVD. MR. LONG[৩৬] is one fo the most amusing persons we know. In a letter to the Editor of the HURKARU the other day he said that the Missionaries always confessed when they made any errors, and tried to amend their ways; and wished that he could say the same of the Indigo Planters, but that they were obdurate, and refused to confess, or to allow that they were guilty of any of the evil deeds charged against them.— Let us see what the planters are charged with; and let us see if, to please Mr. Long, we may safely confess to any thing. We should like to be considered reasonable. Turning to the Missionary pamphlet we find that we are first charged with habitually way laying ryots, and carrying them, their wives, and their children, into godowns, together with their confiscated goods and cattle. (page 86) Not guilty, your Reverences, of habitually — nor of way laying — nor of the wives and children— nor of putting cattle into a godown, especially when the cakes are there. We however, to please your Reverences, plead guilty to a little godown sometimes, which we consider better for both the health and the purse of the patient than the Moonsiff's court. We trust we are too good Christians to send even a heathen there.— We are charged (page 87) with trying to purchase or lease estates, and when we suceed in doing so, especially when enjoying the friendship of Civil Servants— so much is our natural tendency to evil increased by such friendship —aggravating all the above mentioned evils, buring our own villages, and killing our own ryots! Not guilty, your Reverences, of the arson or the murder. We should as soon think of burning our own Company's

paper, or pitching into the river our own rupees, as of burning our own villages or killing our own ryots. We must plead guilty to wishing to possess landed property, and in some very aggravated cases, luckily of rare occurrence, to friendship with Civil Servants.— We are accused (page 93) of decoration of the Lord's-day, incontiuence, severity and brutality; coming to India for gain, and hoping to make a fortune; of leaving India when we have made fortunes; of calling the natives "niggers," of living upon "niggers," of eating beef, drinking freely, and trampling upon the rights of "niggers.".Not guilty, your Reverences, of the desceration of the Lord's-day, except during sowing and manufacturing; we plead not guilty to severity and brutality; with regard to the charge combined with these, let him whom is among you without sin, throw the first stone. We plead guilty of hoping to make a fortune, but very few of us are guilty of doing so. We are guilty of calling the natives "niggers" but not of living upon "niggers,' many of whom live upon us. We plead guilty of beef, but only at Christmas; we are guilty of drinking freely when thirsty, or when we meet a white face, which in many cases is only once in two or three months. Not knowing what your Reverences exactly mean by the rights of "niggers," we cannot say whether we are habitually guilty of trampling upon them or not.— We are so penetrated with a sense of our wickedness, that we, of our own free will, tender a supplementary confession. We confess that, living in a country where children are magistrates and boys are judges,— where the Government daily breaks its plighted faith— where the end and aim of legislation is the prevention of the settlement of Europeans in the country— we, led away be a wicked old ruffian named Blackstone, who persuaded us that an Englishman had certain absolute rights, which, says be, "are founded on nature and reason," and which consist of the rights of personal security, of personal liberty, and of private property; and also being taught by the same deceiver, that to "vindicate these rights, when actually violated or attacked, the subjects of England are entitled, in the first place, to the regular administration and free course of justice in the courts of law; next to the right of petitioning the king and parliament for redress of grievances; and lastly to the right of having and using arms for self-preservation and defence;"— placing confidence we say in this deceiver, who has obtained a great name with a certain set of deluded men, have used the whole of there three means of vindicating our fancied rights. This your Reverences, we humbly confess, and beg for absolution.

2.8.1856

CHRISTIANITY

It has been alleged against us as a serious charge by some of our native friends, that we have evinced a desire, throughout our conduct of this paper to see all men converted to Christianity. We plead guilty to the charge; for, certain as we are, that the souls and bodies of men

will live for ever, that they will live in a state of eternal blessedness or eternal misery as their conduct may have been in this life, that no man can claim exemption from the punishment which his own conscience tells him his sins have deserved, that no man can say truly that he has obeyed the precepts of his religion whether it be a false or a true one, and that very man must therefore feel that he is liable to the punishments denounced by that religion, unless he can find some one to save him,— a Saviour— one who will take upon him that debt of duty to the Supreme Being for which he is liable, and that the only Saviour who can and will thus become liable for that debt is Jesus Christ— certain as we are of all this— and certain we must be, for we have risked our own eternal (tremendous word!) happiness or misery upon that certainty, we would surely be less than human if we did not wish to see our fellow creatures saved from that misery to which we see them hurrying— If one who had eyes were to see a blind man hastening towards a precipice, would it be human in him to stand by and see that blind man dashed to pieces, or would he not rather hasten forward to arrest his progress, and to turn and set him in the right way? Would he not be condemned by all mankind if he were not to act thus? If we believe that those who put not their trust in the salvation offered by Christ— and we are entitled to credit for sincerity on this point, for we have placed all that we ourselves possess both temporal and eternal upon this belief— if we believe that those who are not Christians are advancing towards a precipice over which if they fall, they will meet, not with the lingering death, and after death rest, causing from the mangled and shattered frame produced by a fall over a material precipice; but with life, eternal life, an eternal life of misery, a never dying anguish, an unquenchable fire consuming them, an immortal worm preying upon immortal vitals— if we believe all this, is it to be wondered at that we wish to same those whom we see dooming themselves to such inconceivable anguish and misery? It is useless to say to us as some of our native friends have said:— "We shall all reach heaven but by different routes." We believe— and if this belief is not true. "then are we of all men the most miserable"— that there is "no name given under Heaven or among men whereby we must be saved" but the name of Jesus Christ. Can it be supposed that we are not anxious that our native friends, that all men, should be called by this name? There is no one who has realised to himself a millionth part of the misery of a doomed soul, that will not be anxious, fervently anxious for the salvation of every soul from the slightest chance of damnation. It is this which renders every one who has himself been saved so anxious for the salvation of others. He has seen, he has known, the immensity of the danger to which he was approaching, and he— from this very knowledge— is the more anxious to warn others whom he sees approaching the same dangers blindfold.

But what is this Christianity to which our native friends are so afraid on being converted, by some trick or subterfuge, by some juggler's sleigh of hand? They think that they may be turned into

Christians in an instant, by tricking them into biting a cartridge containing bullock's fat, or by, in the old Mussulman style, forcing a drop of beef broth into their mouths. This so far from in the eyes of a Christian converting. them to Christianity, changes them into Mehters, into men who have no self respect. The native who, without any change of heart, partakes merely of beef broth, is no Christian: he is merely as individual who was once a Hindoo, and who by fortuitous circumstances has either broken through the laws of Hindooism from licentiousness or some other cause, or has been forced or deceived into breaking these laws. In either of these cases he must be suspected by the Christian. In the first, licentiousness alone unfits him from the profession of Christianity. In the second, the loss of self respect must be a great barrier to our admiting such a man into a Christian community from the suspicion which must arise that he has been impelled to seek for admission, merely from the desire of finding companionship with others, who do not consider that disgraceful, which has lowered him in his own eyes.— Christianity is a religion completely disconnected from externals. It concerns itself with the heart alone. – And here we would submit to our missionaries with all humility, as to those much more able to judge than ourselves, whether it is advisable to insist upon the complete renunciation of caste which we understand they at present do. The Jews were as great sticklers for caste, if not more so, than the Hindoos. We learn from Paul's quarrel with Peter, that they were not accustomed to eat with the Gentile converts. Paul himself did not consider such separation as unchristian.He only condemned Peter for having eaten with the Gentiles before the arrival of the Jews, and having refused to do so after that arrival. Are we not, we ask this question with all humility, throwing a stumbling block in the way of our Hindoobrethren, when we insist on the Brahmin eating with the Soodra? The apostles did not insist upon the Jew eating with the Gentile.

We assure our Native friends that when we ask one of them to become a Christian, we invite him to no such easy task as that of eating a bit of ham or beef. What is required is not any change of externals. It is the change of the heart. He must give up all thoughts and desires that bear even the semblance of evil. He must not only not commit a crime but he must not even imagine it. He must above all, become humble. He must give up all idea that anything he can do himself is necessary, or can in any way assist his salvation. He must be content to confess himself a criminal, and to hope only for pardon. He must as no right to forgiveness. This is Christianity— not the biting of a cartridge made up with bullocks' fat.

8.4.1857

THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF JESUITS

The Jesuits [৩৭] have been banished from every state in Europe for their pernicious interference in political matters. They have found a

refuge in Bengal and with their usual astuteness have appeared as wolves in sheeps' clothing. We do not know a body of men who have deservedly earned for themeselves a higher name for everything truly Christian, for meekness, for perseverance under discouragement for faithful and labourious discharge of their duties for that quiet and uncelebrated by men, because unobtrusive courage, which can only arise from the consciousness of their fighting on the side of God, and therefore "not fearing what man can do unto them," for unwearedness in well-doing, even though they see not immediate result from their labors,— we say we know no body of men who have earned so high a name for those qualities, as the Protestant Missionaries of Bengal.— The Jesuits have chosen this name, and have even dared to pretend to the Government of India, that they are the only true Protestant Missionaries, and to bring the weight of that character to bear in the carrying out of their ambitious scheme of becoming a governing power in the land, and not only a governing power, but the power which it will be necessary for every one who wishes to carry a particular measure to secure. If they succeed, they will of course, like a mercenary army, sell their power to the highest bidder, either in filthy lucre or in political influence, so that we advise the Indigo planters, if they wish to free themselves from the slanders which have been cast upon them by writer after writer of the hirelings of the East India Company, to bid, and to bid high for the services of this army of Martyrs, really Jesuits, but styling themselves Protestant Missionaries. But we warn planters against trusting to the Missionaries they know in the Mofussil, and who know them, Those are really Protestant Missionaries, and whatever interest they may have, and we believe those that we know really do possess such interest— in the world to come, they have absolutely none in this.— It is to the "Protestant Missionaries residing in or near Calcutta" that application is to be made. They are those who are the great agitators, the men whose influence is valuable in this world. The others are servants of a Master " whose kingdom is not of this world." It is useless applying to them.

We confess that the first appearance of the Jesuit Company incorporated under the name of the Protestant Missionaries residing in or near Calcutta "Unlimited," the last word signifying that they are willing to go any lengths for their employer, is not very promising. They have been engaged in a cause of which they understand nothing and in which they have made several egregious errors. The way however, in which they have drawn up the pleadings of the case shows that they are "thought; " for they not only follow the instructions given in the Attorney to the barrister, to "abuse the opposite party but they include in their abuse their own party. The case is under Tenures v. Zemindaree. The side on which the Incorporated Companyof Jesuits is engaged is that of Undertenures. The form in which they choose to plead is that of petitioners to the Legislative Council that Mr. Grant's Sale Law Bill be passed. They profess to to be retained by the "Cultivators of Bengal," which, as

this is an experimental case, merely got up to show their power, is we need scarcely say, a legal fiction, for no "Cultivator" in Bengal is in any way interested in the case whether the result is one way or another. The Incorporated Society of Jesuits have misunderstood their brief. They propose two issues. The first is, "The under-tenures are insecure; the rents of the cultivators are capriciously varied; and the interests of those classes are virtually unprotected."— The second issue is "The Zemindars are armed with extraordinary and excessive powers."— The Society commences with a mis-statement, which in charity we shall set down to ignorance. The Incorporated Society of Jesuits which for brevity we shall call the I. S. of J. states that the Zemindar was primarily regarded simply as a Collector fo the Land Revenue. Reg. VIII of 1793 distinctly declares him to be proprietor of the soil. The I. S. of J. objects tothe Zemindar's having increased in wealth since the perpetual settlement. It is useless to ask them if this would be held a prim facie proof of oppression of tenantry in Britain. The Society knows well that argument could not stand there. The Company's Rupee or silver has greatly decreased in value since the period named. No calculation has been entered into by the I. S. of J. as to how far the increase in wealth has counterbalanced the depreciation of silver. The I. S. of J. states that the tenantry have been "oppressed by the exercise of extra-judicial powers." This is simply false, and if the I. S. of J. had not resided " in and about Calcutta," they would have known that so fearfully inadequate to the wants of the country are our judicial tribunals, that if these "extra-judicial" courts had not sprung up society would have come to a dead lock.— The I. S. of J. states that the profits of Zemindars are incalculably valuable. The selling price of a Zemindaree, in consequence of the incompetency of the Judges and Magistrates of the H. E. I. Co, is ten years' purchase. In Scotland we believe it is forty two. How the Scotch must oppress the ryots!— The I. S. of J. complains that the ryot is ignorant of his rights. he is not nearly so ill off as the European interloper who believed that he had a right to trial by Jury, Habeas Corpas, and one or two other little things, till Sir Arthur Buller told him he had not. The case of a man who believes that he has $10,000 and is suddenly told that he has not a farthing, is much worse than that of him who is entitled to $10,000 and does not know it.— The I. S. of J. considers that the "Zemindars have not fulfiled the just expectations of the state or the conditions of the Perpetual Settlement." Does a Company's Judge, utterly ignorant of all law?— does a Company's Magistrate, ignorant of the language and the people among whom he pretends to administer justice?— does a missionary, who leaving the preaching of the Gospel of Peace, foments strife among the proprietors of land, and tries, by inculcating the doctrines of Prudhon, to deprive proprietors of their lands?— do these men fulfil the just expectations fo the state? When they do, let them cast the first stone at the Zemindar.

We have not space to go through the petition of the I. S. of J's petition paragraph by paragraph. We shall only notice that they anticipate from Mr. Grant's bill, that it will "tend to the increase of wealth, and this, with other civilising causes, must lead to the investment of continually larger amounts of capital in land, and thereby to the consolidation of estates and the absorption of improvident and pamper proprietors."— in other words to the creation of Zemindars, and the eternal squashing of ryots. We thought the I. S. of J. was pleading on the part of the ryot. We find we were mistaken. The brief had been taken on the part of the world be zemindar against the present race of zemindar. The case is really captain Crawford versus Ramrutton Roy and others.

There is no one more anxious than ourselves and we hold large zemindarees— to see Mr. Grants bill pass into law, but not by the aid of the Incorporated Society of Jesuits, nor by the effect of such arguments as they have used.

11.4.1857

THE MISSIONARIES' PETITION

We always said that the Petition of the Missionaries for a Commission to be appointed in this country, to enquire into the evils with which the land was overrun, was a mistake. It was a mistake arising out of the very imperfect knowledge of the country, and the causes of those evils possessed by the Petitioners. They have no actual knowledge, founded upon experience, of many of the abuses which they enumerate, such as the state of the police and the working of the judicial system, the landed tenures, and the Abkarry department. They have never, nor their converts except in one or two exceptional cases, suffered under them. They were at the same time anxious to proceed in a constitutional manner, and apply first to the Government under which those abuses arose, and it was not till that Government refused to grant the prayer of their petition, that they took the course pointed out to them by the Indigo Planters, and petitioned parliament. The planters do know the cause of the evils they complain of. They know that they arise from the despotic rule of the East India Company, and from the constitution of their close Civil Service, in which when one is once admitted, he surrenders all right of private judgment, but at the same time is assured from any possibility of discharge, whether he commit fraud, or indulge in debauchery to the greatest possible extent. That this is the case the records of the service itself disclose; and that the service is a certainty, whatever the folly, or vice or sin of a man in it may be, may be surmised from the proverb well known to the chaperone who has a spinster to dispose of, and who, alluding to the pension fund, declares that a Civilian, dead or alive, is worth three hundred a year. The Planters knowing these things have always prayed for a commission of impartial men from England, whose verdict and the

evidence collected by whom, would at once overthrow the Civil Service, and the Civil Serviced system.

We have now before us the Minutes of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the members of the Supreme Council, on which the Memorial of the Missionaries for an enquiry into certain abuser in Bengal, was refused. The only minute that are worth noticing are those of Mr. Halliday and Lord Canning, and Mr. Dorin— the two first for their ability the last for its folly. — Mr. Halliday, after giving an abstract of the Missionaries' petition, commences as is to be expected from that individual, by telling a lie in a foot note, which he afterwards repeats in the body of his minute. He says with regard to the Memorlialists' remark that there is an extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits, that "The Memorialists do not seem to be aware that there is an extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits, and intoxicating drugs. The Government largely taxes the sale of such articles with a view to discourge it." Mr. Halliday knows this to be a lie, or else he knows much less of Bengal than we give him credit for. When the Abkerry Commissioner was first appointed in these districts we were but an-unknown Indigo planter in a remote quarter. We learned however that shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors were being established all over the district at the distance of six miles from each other. Our ryots petitioned us against these, foreseeing the taste for ardent spirits that would be introduced among them. We petitioned Mr. Donell the Abkerry Superintendent, and Mr. Donell disregarded our petitions. The tax was low at first. In some districts the taste for spirits was encouraged by engaging prostitutes to settle near the shops, so that one vice might be nourished by another. When drunkards were created in a district, then and only then the tax was raised. Does this look like discouragement?

The Lieutenant Governor then goes on to deny that the Memorialists have drawn anything like a correct picture of the Mofussil, in the relations between "landlord (or Planter) and tenant," or of the condition of the rural population generally. He states his "absolute dissent," in which we join him most heartily, from the statement, "that the people exhibit a spirit of sullen discontent on account of the miseries ascribed to them," and that there exists among them a "bitter hatred of Government."— Our own experience of the people of late years is, that they are exceedingly well off, and like all well-off people very bumptious but at the same time supporters of the Government under which they flourish. Being thus bumptious we agree with the Lieutenant Governor, that any enquiry which might affect the Civil Service would only make them more so, and if we were a Civilian we should immediately vote that it should be refused as the Lieutenant Governor does. But having been for the last fourteen years kicked and cuffed and despised, having this very day got a kick which we longed to return, but could not from the absolute impenetrability of the hide of the genius civilian, we will vote for anything which may make the civilian a man of like passions as

ourselves, and not a superhuman monkey, who enjoys nothing more than committing a nuisance upon a Man.— The prayer of the Missionaries if granted, would not have destroyed the Civil Service. It would only have arrayed the Planter against the Zemindar the Zemindar against the Planter and both against the Missionary, a result not to be wished for, and therefore we are glad it was refused.

But the gem of minutes is that by the Honorable J. A. Dorin. It is essentially foolish and essentially very-old-civilian,, and yet this is the man who would assume the Government of India should anything happen to Lord Canning, which God forbid! If we could only teach Mr. Halliday that honesty is the best policy, we should prefer him above Lord Canning himself. Lord Canning's great talent, as far as we can yet see, lies in this, that he has an English respect for honesty and staight forward dealing, which our Indian politicians have not. As our old Military fogies get saturated with the spirit of caste and produce a mutiny, so our old political fogies get soaked in lying and destroy our credit so far, that we cannot raise two millions and a half without a lie in the name of the Loan; and no one will trust us with a cowrie for 5 per cent, except for the purpose of making a profit by selling out when the loan is at a small premium.— Mr. Dorin's solution of all the evils complained of by the Missionaries, is that they "arise from the physical structure of the people, and that nature and climate have at least as much to do with them as any defect in the civil administration of the country." Perjury and forgery are said to be crimes in which the Bengalees most indulge. We are not to impute this to the fact that our courts make a point of acquitting persons charged with those crimes, so that a man who forges a document, and employs false witnesses to support it, has a good deal to gain if he can manage to deceive the court, and nothing to fear if he is found out: but to the circumstances of nature and climate. Nature therefore ought to get seven year with labor suited to her sex, and climate ought to be transported for the term of his natural life. Mr. Dorin states as a reason for the above opinion that the state of the police is little better in the upper provinces than in Bengal and that the peasantry in those provinces is not so debased as those in Bengal. If the police, composed of upper province men, is not better than the Bengalee police, we should infer that the upper province peasantry are not better than Bengalee peasantry. And we believe that this is the case, only there are there but few planters, missionaries, and others independent of Government to expose the state of the country, which has been partially done in Bengal. PANCH COWRIE KHAN the only man who has done so, shows the Upcountrymen to be identical in crime and vices with our Bengalees.— Mr. Dorin states that the up-country men are a "fine manly race who will not submit to be pillaged by every privileged or unprivileged plunderer; men who will stand up for their own rights and defend their property as soon as they have acquired it." "But," says he, 'will a Bengalee do this?" If he does we can tell him the Sudder will transport him. But Mr. Dorin's doubting whether he will

or not, only shows that he, Mr. Dorin, has never kept lattials. We can hire a lattial, a Bengalee, to go to certain death. We can buy a Bengalee to swing at the Churruck for a rupee. For fifty rupees we can buy a Bengalee to sacrifice himself under the car of Juggernath. Does this look like want of courage? Mr. Dorin says that he believes there is not a more timid human being than a Bengalee on the face of the earth." What the Bengalee may be under the earth or in a ballon he does not state. He says that during the Sonthal rebellion they ran away. We should like to know what the English, railway men and planters did? —Mr. Dorin tells us that "the zemindaree system." that system to which Bengal owes it that it is the richest province of the empire,"has failed in practice." He says that its "object was to create a substantial intermediate interest in the community, a landed aristocracy, from which the genial flow of social influences might reasonably have been expected." Is Mr. Dorin own brother to Mr. Teignmouth Sandys? — Mr. Dorin states that "English and Bengalee nature are not alike," thus contoverting the principle so eloquently laid down by the great Mr. Squeers that, "Human Nature is Human Nature," adding to this, from his great experience of that female, that "She is a rum un, is Human Nature."—Mr. Dorin next roams into the crime of dacoity, which he declares to be "frightfully prevalent" and he says it is not possible it should be so, "if the people could be persuaded to do anything in their own defence." he does not think it the duty of the police, and the magistrates, and the Superintendents of Police, and the Judges, and the Lieutenant Governors and the Governors, and the Sudder, to protect their own property, and seize that of their neighbors' too. We ourselves pay some Rs 15,000 a year to Government. We think it rather hard to be called upon to protect ouselves after that. With half that sum we could protect ourselves most efficiently against all comers. But why argue the want of courage of the Bengalees because they do not defend themselves against dacoits? Who are the dacoits themselves but Bengalees? Surely they have some courage or they would not dare to attack. — Mr. Dorin is apparently a disciple of Malthus. He says that there are evils which "so far as he knows are incurable by any action of Government." Among them, says the wise and ever-to-be-venerated and bowed-down before Mr. Dorin, is "that tendency to overpopulation which creates a greater demand for land than there is land to supply" Why, bless the man, there is land enough, excellent land, lying waste between this and Mymensing to accommodate the whole popluation of Bengal. The Tipperah district, which has been depopulated by the Blessed East India Company, has land enough for another total of the population of Bengal. We have no estate of somewhere about 144 square miles in extent; that only gives Rs 12,000 of collections. Imporatant trades and manufactures are at a stand still for want of men, women and children. Is Bengal over populated? Why, there is not a single real pauper in it, so that it must be assumed that the lowest of those who labor have enough, and to spare, for out of what they have, thep are able to support those who

do not, and those who cannot labor. There cannot be overpopulation without much poverty.— Mr Dorin states that the Bengalee will not make a soldier or a watchman, which is not exactly true, seeing that the police of Bengal are almost all Bengalees— even we believe in Calcutta.— But as a summing up of the worthlessness of the Bengalee he states that "He will not even make a tolerable emigrant" for he, Mr. Dorin, is informed that "amongst the whole of the emigrant cookies from the port of Calcutta, not ten per cent are from Bengal Proper." When men are well off in their own country they do not emigrate, and the smallness of the number of emigrants from Bengal disproves Mr. Dorin's assertion of overpopulation, which any one but himself would certainly have seen. Mr. Dorin's panacea like that Revd. Mr. Long's education. Is the safe custody of our throats on an emergency to be entrusted to a wise man of Mr. Dorin's stamp? We think not, and the sooner Mr. Dorin retires from the Councils of the state the better for the people and for himself.

6.6.1857

PRAYER

It seems to result from the bashfulness of the English nature, that the subjects which are nearest to one's heart, are those which are most seldom spoken of or brought forward in one's public or social life. There is scarcely an Englishman who is not ashamed to speak of his mother and sisters of his wife to strangers, or even to those who with whom he had any but a most intimate acquaintance. And yet there is no nation in which the home affections are more developed than among the English. We believe it is a modification of the same feeling which keeps the Englishman from speaking of or referring in public to his God, for if the maxim is true that "by their fruits ye shall know them,"there is no nation which loves and honors God more than the English, and the Americans, and other races descended from that stock. The sums of money annually contributed by the English and the Scotch and the Americans for the propagation of the Gospel, by means of Bible Societies, missions &c, are far superior to those which have made the House of Our Lady of Loretto a mass of jewels. The price of St. Peter's at Rome is annually raised in Britain and America for the distribution of sombre calf-skin Bibles. On the lips of the Italian or the Frenchman are continually to be found the names of their God or their Goddess the Virgin Mary. The Mahomedan scarce utters a phrase without an appeal to Allah. The Hindoo is never weary of repeating his Ram or his Hurree. All nations talk of their Gods more freely and constantly than the English, and yet there is no nation which by their works honors their God so much.—But we think this peculiarity is carried by the English to too great an extent. There is no man who does not see that the British empire in India is at present in danger, a danger which we are sure will eventuate in more perfect safety than we have hitherto enjoyed; but still a danger and an imminent danger to those

who are at present in India; for however assured we may be that our countrymen will thoroughly avenge any injury done to us, we cannot for any one moment be sure that we ourselves shall escape. One European is equal to one thousand natives as history since the battle of Plassey has shown: but we have not India even that proportion. The broken reed, our Native army, upon which for one hundred years we have trusted, has failed when leant upon, and yet, though we have a staff which will support us over all dificulties, we will not use it. That staff is Prayer. Up to this day the religious authorities, or the Governor General have not sought assistance from this source. We have ordered regiments from Bombay, from Madras, from Persia, from Rangoon, but we have not sought help from God. We have trusted in men. Is God's arm shortened that it cannot save? Is His helpless powerful than that of Colonel Neill? The Bishop, the Overseer of the national church, has not directed that we shall apply to God for help; and, if we may judge from what has been done in Dacca, no application will be made to God for help, until the Bishop may waken from his lethargy and order it to be done. Is not this the very red-tapery or religion?— The warrior king David was not ashamed to apply to God for assistance in his afflictions. The rich king Solomon, like whom there was none before nor none after, was not ashamed to pray to God for deliverance in any strait. The good Hezekiah when he received the threatening letter from Sennacherib, went and spread it out before the Lord, and he delivered him most signally, smiting an hundred four score and five thousand of the enemy. The Mahommedans are not ashamed to pray to God through their false prophet. The Hindoos seek for assistance from their idols of wood and of stone. But Lord Canning, up to the present moment, has not sought assistance in his great strait from the King of Heaven. May not this be— is not this the cause of the awful disaster that have happened in this land? Our army, that in which we trusted for our possession of India has vanished away, and all because our ruler either considers these things to small for God, the omnipotent and omnipresent God to take notice of, or because he imagines, and by so imagining makes God a liar, that He will not answer prayer.

The invitation to united prayer which we publish elsewhere, shows that there are those in this country who are fully aware of the power of prayer, and it may be that by them the land shall be saved. Each Christian in the country, man and woman and child is interested in this question, none more so than the women and children. The men can fight but what can the women and children do?— They can pray — pray without ceasing. They can be a greater protection to the country than many regiment of strong soldiers. Out of the mouth of babes and of sucklings God hath perfected praise. Will he not hear when the helpless cry unto Him". They are stronger than the mighty man. They can, as the child David slew Goliath with a sling and stone, trusting in his god, deliver the armies of Israel. Are we patriotic? — Do we wish for the speedy discomfiture of the

Mutineers?— do we wish for the good of the land of our adoption— the land from which we draw our wealth?— We do not, if we do not pray. Lord Canning has done all that it is possible for man to do. But he has nevertheless neglected his duty, for he has neglected to secure for us the strongest aid procurable. He has obtained aid from Kings and Rajas, he has not sought for that of the King of Kings. Why has there been no cry for deliverance in our Churches?

20.6.1857

COLONEL WHEELER AGAIN

It is pretty well acknowledged in India by this time, that Colonel Wheeler had about as much to do with the mutinies as the greased cartridges or the article for which the DACCA NEWS was warned. But it is not so in the papers we have last received from home. In them Colonel Wheeler has to go through the same ordeal as he have to do in this country. He is attacked, not for having failed as a soldier, but for having continued to do at the time that the mutinies broke out, what he had been doing for the previous twenty years of his life, without any one finding fault with him, that is preaching Christianity not only to his soldiers but in the Bazaars and doing every thing in his power to spread Christianity by devoting for feat purpose nearly the whole of the salary he drew from the Government. We hold that Colonel Wheeler is right in dividing his duty into two parts, — his duty to Caesar and his duty to God. When his uniform was on his back and his sword on his side his duty was to war as Caesar. When he had put them off, he was at as much liberty to serve God by preaching. praying and attending missionary meetings, as other men in the sevice of the same Caesar were to serve the devil, by cursing, swearing, drinking and frequenting brothels. That he had that liberty is evident from his exercising it for twenty years without any notice having been taken of it. Some may have thought him. It is a pity that his having failed in his duty as a soldier— his duty to Caesar, should have given occasion to those who do not approve of the zealous service of God to speak against such service, and to try to show that it is incompatible with the service of Caesar. such persons say, that Colonel Wheeler ought either to have left religion alone althogether, or to have left the army, and to have devoted himself solely to preaching. We cannot agree with such doctrine. We believe that the profession and active progagation of Christianity is perfectly consistent with every employment in life. It was an Indigo Planter, one of that race which it has pleased our rulers of late to hold up to the world as the most depraved of all men, who was one of the first translators of the Bible into Bengalee . We have not heard that his ryots were more refractory, or his cakes of worse color, because he employed his leisure hours in the service of his God. We do not hear that the Centurion who was the first fruit of the Gentiles to Christianity, was cashiered for spending his leisure time in prayer and alms-giving. But we need not go so far back for soldier saints.

General Havelock has we believe preached as much as Colonel Wheeler. Sir Henry Lawrence and Major Edwards have both been most active in establishing and supporting missions. Are we to ignore the services they have rendered to Çaesar and to bring them to a court martial for having served God? If this is to be the course pursued, we are happy to say that there are not a few, and those of the best servants of Caesar in this country, who will have to be ried for serving God. Of course the members of the Court Martial must be servants of the Devil, and even then we are not sure that a verdict of Guilty will be secured. We should not wonder if some of the more astute among the Devil's servants might not be found to reason thus:— "Come — this is going rather too far. We engaged to serve the Company with our swords and with our brains as far as they may be required for the purpose of leading and drilling sepoys. That we engaged for no more than this, the Company itself acknowledges, for when any of us condescend to accept a staff appointment, they pay us handsomely for doing so. I have no sympathy with that canting fellow Wheeler, but if he chooses to cant when off duty why should he not do so? They will be forbidding us to polk next, because it has a tendency to alienate the sepoys from us, to see a man take a woman in his arms and whirl her round a room, and because they cannot respect a man who dances, it being against their ideas that any should dance but those whose profession it is, and who are always of the lowest and most degraded caste. No! no! we can't stand interference with our private amusements, so I think we had better find Colonel Wheeler not guilty of not fulfilling his duty to the Company, in consequence of his serving God. The fellow is a bore, and does not subscribe to our balls and Theatricals, but that is because he chooses to spend his money in another way. But if we allow him to be put down, by Jove, Sir, they may take it into their heads to put down balls next, and then I should like to know what this blessed country would be worth living in for."

We would call attention to a circumstance mentioned by us when writing on this subject before, but which we think is of sufficient importance to be repeated. The assertion that Colonel Wheeler's preaching or the preaching of any of our Missionaries has a tendency to alarm the people on the score of their religion, *has never been made by the Sepoys or the people themselves.* It has been pretended that such conduct is dangerous, only by the so-called Christian press. The people do not fear, and never pretended that they did fear open attacks upon their religion. Ninety six thousand children attend the Missionary schools where the professed object is to turn them to Christianity, while only twenty five thousand attend the Government schools, where Christinity is most strictly prohibited be even named. The people or the sepoys have never pretened to fear open attempts at conversion. What they pretended to fear was, that their caste would be destroyed by a trick or dodge— that they should be betrayed into biting a cartridge which would pollute them. The story was that Lord Canning had promised to the

Queen to make Indian Christian in eight years, and that the way he was to effect this was not by ordering the Colonels and officers to preach Chrisitanity upon the paganground, not by making a successful examination in the New Testament the qualification for promotion or increase of pay, but by tricking the soldiery into biting a polluted cartridge. Guarded as the people and army of India have been from any chance of knowing or hearing what Christianity is, they believe that loss of caste makes one a Christian— one who is neither a Hindoo nor a Mahommedan, who drinks spirits, and eats pig's flesh and all other things which defile a man. We regret to say that the life of but too many of us in India has not been such as to show the natives that, if our religion teaches us not to fear the defilement of the body, it especially commands us to keep pure the soul. But great improvements in this respect have we are thankful to say lately taken place and we hope the day is near at hand, when the natives shall know both by example and precept what Christianity really is.

A favorite phrase with the home papers, but one so Jesuitical that we think it must owe its birth to a Bengal Secretary, is that we "entered into a contact with the natives" not in any way to interferee with their religion. If we did so, it was a devilish compact. It was a compact which said "pay your rent regularly, allow yourselves to be governed for our profit and pleasure, and we will disobey the last command on earth of Him through whom.we hope one day or other— when we have retired on our pensions— to Heaven. We will never mention His name to you, nor allow others to mention it, and though we believe that you are all perishing, and are going fast to that Hell from which He only can save you, (at least our parsons say so, but we hope it is not so bad as all that) we will do everything in our power to prevent any one from saving you from your Master the Devil."— Is not such a compact, such a tenure whereby to hold India, a bargain with the Devil that we will serve him, if not actively, at least passively, by refusing in any way to oppose him, or to give his Adversary a chance of even being heard? Is it not "Give us the kingdoms of the world, and we will fall down and worship thee"?— But we deny that such a compact was ever either made or even implied. If it was so, we have been breaking through it ever since we left off following Job Charnock's example, and worshiping the idols of the land. What do we take most honor to ourselves for? Is it not that no more human sacrifices take place at Kali-Ghat, or before Juggernath, or at any of the many other bloody shrines of Hindooism— that we have rescued the Meriahs from their cruel death— that the living widow no longer burns upon the funeral pile with her dead husband— that the Rajpoot mother no longer puts opium upon the nipple of her breast, so that her infant daughter may suck from it death instead of life? What are these things which Kaye. the Company's apologist, so highly and justly boasts of, but breaches of this pretended "compact"?— The Government schools and colleges pay no attention to the compact, when they show the falsity of those religious books,

those Shasters, which teach that the earth is stationary in the centre of the system, and that the sun moves round it. The schools and colleges are themselves a breach of the "compact," for they destroy for ever a Hindoo's belief in his own religion. The Mahommedan knows how dangerous an English education is, and in the Pubna and some other districts, they excommunicate those among the Mussulmans who send their children to a school in which English is taught. We never heard however of their pleading the "compact." It is from Englishmen we have first learned that it exists.

It is now time that we should leave of "halting between two opinions." We have tried the plan (according to the believers in the existence of the "compact") of serving the devil while in the Civil Service, and putting off the serving God till we take the pension and we have found that it does not answer.— We say in the words of God's prophet — "How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him: if Baal then follow him."— Let us be in earnest. Let us go in for God or the Devil. If we chose the latter, we shall have after a time to suffer again all the horrors of Delhi, Allahabad, and Cawnpore, for he has power but for a time. If the fromer, we shall have peace and joy for "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof."

24.10.1857

OUR SERMONS. No. II

Our text is "Flee Covetousness which is idolatry."— Is not this a queer saying? is it not like one of Mr Gamp's sayings "And the darling infant departed which is measles?" What have covetousness, by which we understand the itch for heaping together of money, which possesses some people, and idolatry to do together? If we understand idolatry to be the falling down before and worshiping of images, whether of clay, of gold, of brass, or of stone, they have certainly but little to do with each other. We have never heard of even the most debased of nations in the social scale, who fell down and worshiped or burned incense before the head of Victoria upon a crown pices. But this we do not think to be the idolatry intended in our text. When we worship a God, we do so because we put our trust in him, because we believe that he can deliver from all the evils by which we may at any time be threatened. We try to secure to ourselves an all-powerful protector, one who can save us in every straight to which we may be reduced. There is but one such, and he is God, and He is, as he has often told us, a jealous God. He is jealous because he is vexed when he sees us making our chief end that which he knows will bring us but foolishness and vanity. He is not jealous as a man is of his wife whom he considers so undervalues himself as to think that he has not merit enough to retain his wife's affections; but He is jealous, because He sees us poor creatures led astray from Him by our own folly, by that which is utterly worthless. Idolatry is

the choosing to ourselves as a Saviour, any other than Jesus Christ. The man who puts his trust money, who is covetous, is one of those. He is one of those short sighted individuals who looks not beyond the present life. He imagines that if he save more he will be able to provide for his children, and for his own old age. Beyond he does not look. Such a man makes money his God, instead of the Lord God. He trusts in money to the greatest distance to which he looks forward. This is Idolatry. "Give, and it shall be given unto you," has been said by God, but he has nothing to do with God, the Lord God. His God is money, and when he has once got so much of his God he keeps it, and tries to get more; for if he has not got much of his God, how can be expect to do all that he proposes to do; to launch his sons into the world , to dower his daughters, and to provide for his own old age.— But his God is an idol as worthless as those of clay of wood or of stone. An iconoclast a John Knox, a drunker European may smash any of the latter to pieces, and the God is gone. A thief, a burglar, may carry off the covetous man's riches, and where is the God?— One who found a spring of water in the desert would not think of securing to himself the whole of the water of that spring, in case he should be again thirsty before the caravan again moved on, a few hours afterwards. He would proclaim his discovery, he would call the the whole caravan to drink of the spring or pool. He would not save in case of accidents. he would not deny to others a share of the riches of which he had accidentally become possessed. How different is the journey of life! One man comes upon the discovery of a source of great riches. He preserves the secret to himself, though thousands are perishing around him. He considers that the possession of those riches is what will save himself, and he determines to preserve the whole of them for himself. He makes a God, a Saviour, of those riches and trusts in them. he forgets the God who said "Give and it shall be given unto you," and trusts in that which he has already got. he erects what God has given into God, and worships that; forgetting that the same God who gave may take away, and that the God who gave, has promised that if we also give, still more shall be given to us.

12.12.1857

CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS.

Sir,— In continuation of my last letter on the question of Government on christian principles, I beg to remark as follows.

It may be necessary to explain that, when I said that Christianity cannot fill the place of the rulers of this world, *I did not mean that christian men cannot be rulers.* So far from meaning this I not only concede that they may be but contend that *caleris paribus*, they would make the best rulers. An objection to my view may possibly be started from this very admission. It may be urged that if christian men are consistent and act as christians, they cannot

allow christianity to have nothing to do with their prinicples of Government.

In opposition to this I hold that *christian men may be working for the glory of God in the out of governing and yet the governing not be on christian principles.* This may be pronounced paradoxical, but if it is so it is a paradox in the proper, and not in the popular, acceptation of the term. It is apparently wrong but really right as I hope to make clear. A christian acts for the glory of God with reference to the motives which actuate him. These are regard to God's will and an eye to His glory; and continue the same whatever be the kind of work in which he is engaged. The latter may differ in a thousand way, e.g. if he builds on architectural principles; if he surveys land or navigates a ship, he works on mathematical principles, his motives all the time being the same and leading him to fulfil his duty whatever that is. His motive of action are the same, however the modes of action may vary. To apply this distinction to the point in hand, the christian when on the seat of the Government will get with a view to the will and glory of God, yet the modus operadi of lis public conduct will depend not on christian but on gubernatorial principales. He will no more govern according to the principles of christianity than the architect will build on gospel principles, on the navigator use the new Testament for his chart. A Lawrence for example in ruling the Pubjab during the stormy times of 1857 did not excercise forbearance and forgiveness towards nutineers, but summary vengeance. The sceptre of love would have been quite out of these. the rod of iron was the only fit instrument. who will say that Sir John in ruling as he did, acted not with a view to God's glory? Who will say that in fulfilling his duties as a public man he did not also act from christian motives?

The question then which I have been endeavoring to discuss is not whether a christian man can be ruler, a thing I think quite practicable, but whether gubernatorial principles can be identified with christian principles: whether the latter can with advantage to the world as it is be incorporated with the science of government. And my aim has been to show that christian principles are for the government of christian people (true christians (in their relations to each other and the world. Christ's laws (or more properly His parental injunctions) are for his kingdom which is an *imperium in imperiol.* They never were intended for the outer kingdom. They cannot apply to it. They are not physical force principles, they are not national in their character, they do not relate to bodies politic. They do not involve the duties of fellow citizens or of men of one race to each other, but the mutual duties of fellow citizens of a heavenly City and the brethren of Christ.

I am quite aware that among the advocates of government on christian principles, are some of the most christian men of our day, men too who take a most active part in promoting the wellbeing of India. Yet I cannot help thinking, Sir, that their reasonings are marred by faulty conceptions on some points which I shall touch.

One of these, it seems to me, is the idea that the Bible contains in the way of Divine teaching is christian doctrine. On the contrary, I believe that much that the Bible contains of a didactic nature is not christian doctrine rightly so called. A moment's reflection will make this apparent. "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" was a principle of the jewish law; but it is expressly set aside, by our Lord, in the matter of christian practice. The law which came by Moses is not at all the same thing as the GRACE AND TRUTH which came by Jesus Christ; yet both equally emanted from God.

Now I maintain that it is the law, as to its spirit and principles, that governments have to do with. I speak not here of the Decalogue in particular, or the Judicial laws of the Jewish legislator; but of law as opposed to gospel, of law in its essential nature and ends as distinguished from a dispensation of mercy and grace.

Now it is only the existence of evil men that requires the counteractive agency of laws. The Bible itself assures us that the law was not made for a righteous man but for sinners. As among the jewish nation, so among all nations, laws came into existence "because of transgressions," and common sense adds its humble assent to the soundness of this scriptural reason for law. Were offences never committed what need would there be for prohibiting their commission, or for enforcing that prohibition by penal sanctions? Accordingly we find that it was after violence had filled the earth and contributed materially to bring down the flood, that capital punishment was first enjoined for murder. And crimes committed by the Israelites furnished occasions for particular parts of the Mosaic code. Similar is the course of human legislation on all ages. It flows in the direction indicated by actual crimes and for the purposes of repression. But this is not the character or the principles which govern christians. those principles are not of the nature of law. they are not to repress outrages against society, for those to whom they relate are never guilty of such outrages. They do not deter by punitive threatenings, but appeal to the love to Christ which every christian feels. In fact christians, by which term of course I mean the gold and not the gilt, are not under law; but under grace Government on the other hand is in one of its departments a maker of laws and in another an executor of laws. In both capacities its operation is altogether of a different kind from the exercise of christian principles. He has to do with all kinds of character not with those only who can be influenced by the New commandment "That eye love one another as I have loved you." To enforce this would be to govern christian principles; on the new and last injunction just cited is the essence of christian principle. But for Government to attempt doing so would be as absurd as it would be impractical.

In my next I propose, Sir, to consider the relations of Governmens to God and idols.

Yours truly

A Looker on.

2.10.1858

MISSIONARIES AND POLITICS.

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS.

Sir, Will you allow me again a little space in your paper to reply to looker on's last letter? I shall try and not be "lengthy, though my opponent ought not to complain on this head.

I had said that "the very narrative in the Acts (VI.) shows that the Apostles, up to a certain date did administer these same matters" —attending to the temporal welfare" of the poor in the chruch. LOOKER ON asks what part of the narative shews this? Why Acts iv. 35 is cited by Edwis, because the price of the landed property sold is said to have been laid down of the Apostles' feet" But why does Looker on fail to quote the rest of the passage, and give it entire as I gave it, —"and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need."? The price of the things sold was not only laid down at the Apostles feet, but money was then and there paid out according to the necessities of the converts. I again ask, what are we to infer from this? Looker on says "it proves only that the payment of such money into the stock was made with the full knowledge and consent of those favorable men. I argue that the money was not only paid is but bold out; and that, not only "with the full knowledge and consent" of the Apostles, but under their direction, If not indeed by them. Let your readers Judge between me. LOOKER-ON in justification of his view, goes back to Acts ii 44.45 and says "Here is the whole thing done as far as we can see from the narrative, without any interference on the part of the Apostles" But Acts i 44,45 relates one circumstance; Acts iv 35 relates another. The one eye folloed the conversion of the Three thousand the other that of the four thousand . The Apostles may or may not have interfered as regards the firt payments or distributions but this will not militate against my argument as respects the second payment and appropriations. Indeed, the fact that the monies were afterwards laid down at the Apostles feet and distribution made &c. would imply that there arose a peculiar necessity or reason for their interference. I am aware that it may be said that Acts iv 35 is but an extended statement of what is related in Acts ii 45, but even this view of the passages will not serve LOOKER-ON'S purpose.

LOOKER-ON next argues that "if the Apostles had been administering these matters the complaint of neglecting the Hellenist widows would fairly have laid against them; and he says that the murmuring of the Hellenis's was against the Hebrews. "I acknowledge if was with the Hebrews; but cannot discover against whom any complaint was made, of, indeed, that there was any just complaint whatever. Nor can I perceive how, if the Apostles had interfered in the matter of the payments, any blame must have attached to them. Abuses might have arise for which they could not have been held responsible.

LOOKER-ON does not know whether I feel "perfect confidence" in my own "attempt to set aside the force of the example under

discussion" Himself he does not speak with much confidence in the corrtectness of his own views, for he is merely "inclined to think with you," &c. And then he declines to shew how he does agree with you in this matter. For my part I should prefer writing, in the spirit of humility, on a subject which hundreds of the best and ablest of men have discussed long before LOOKER-ON or myself, perhaps was born. "But one thing is clear and that is he (Edwin) has provided a way of escape in case of failure." Is this fair? Had he not better wait till I do fail in setting aside the force of the example adduced by him, before he insinuates that I have got some secret loop hole through which I shall squeeze my little self and escape?

Your correspondent allows now that he "did not adduce a perfectly parallel case." But he seems to have forgotten what he wrote on the 22nd July "Let a Mofussil Missionary favor as with his view of this clear and striking example of the Apostle's doctrine on the subject". What subject? Why that which he writes about "Missionaries and politics" He, however, considers that this example supplies him with an argument a Jartiori," He argues "would men who refused to take a part in redressing the wrongs, &c. of injured widows set on feet an agitation for the relief of ryots, appear in courts," &c. I have endeavored to shew that the Apostles did take part in redressing the wrongs (if wrongs there were) of injured widows; that, they originated, and carried out, a plan by which such wrongs or causes of complaint might be presented and that, when their more important and immediate engagements forbades their further 'personal" interference" they delegated the work to other apporved and godly men. Looker-On does not, after all so very greatly differ from me, for now allows that "the Apostles laid down the principles which were to guide the churches in all things including the relief and support of indigent members, and that in this matter they laboured both by prerept and example" &c. ....

2.10.1858

অর্থনীতি

[নির্দিষ্ট অর্থে অর্থনীতি সংক্রান্ত সংবাদ 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এ কমই ছিল। অর্থনীতির ক্ষেত্রে তাদের একমাত্র লক্ষ্য ছিল নীল ও কুসুম ফুলের দর যাতে না পড়ে যায় বা ব্যবসা ঠিক রাখা। ইংরেজ কেউ জমিদার হলে তার স্বার্থ দেখা। তবে ব্যবসায়ীরা সমাজে প্রভাবশালী হয়ে উঠেছিলেন এবং তারা নিয়ন্ত্রণ করতেন আর্ন্ত ও বর্হিবাণিজ্য এবং অধিকাংশই ছিলেন অবাঙালি অথবা ইংরেজ।

বৈদেশিক বাণিজ্য প্রায় পুরোটাই ছিল ইংরেজদের হাতে। অভ্যন্তরীণ ব্যাবসা ছিল একদিকে বৃটিশ কারখানার জন্য কাঁচামাল সরবরাহ এবং অন্যদিকে ইংরেজদের তৈরি বাজার।

বাংলা সংবাদপত্রগুলি এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে প্রায় সময়ই জমিদার ও শিক্ষিত মধ্যশ্রেণীকে আহ্বান জানিয়েছিলো বাণিজ্য বা শিল্প গড়ে তোলার জন্য। কিন্তু, কেউ তাতে তেমন সাড়া দেয় নি।

প্রথমেই জমিদারদের কথা ধরা যাক। তার উদ্বৃত্ত তিনি শিল্পে লগ্নী না করে লগ্নী করেছিলেন নতুন জমিদারী বা মধ্যস্বত্ব ক্রয় বা মহাজনী ব্যবসায়।[১] ঔপনিবেশিক কাঠামোতে অনেক বাধা নিষেধ ছিল শিল্পখাতে পুঁজি বিনিয়োগের । তাছাড়া, অভ্যন্তরীণ বা বৈদেশিক বাণিজ্য বা শিল্প কোন ক্ষেত্রেই বাঙালি প্রভাব বিস্তার করতে পারেনি। শুধু তাই নয়, ঐ কাঠামোতে শ্রেণী হিসেবে তার অবস্থান ছিল অধস্তন। সুতরাং মেট্রোপলিটন পুঁজির সঙ্গে জমিদারদের প্রতিযোগিতায় যাওয়া সম্ভব ছিল না। বরং অনুৎপাদনশীল খাতে, যেমন কোম্পানীর কাগজে বা মহাজনী ব্যবসার দিকেই তাকে ঝুঁকতে হয়েছিলো যেখানে ঝুঁকি ছিল কম। সুতরাং এই উদ্বৃত্ত ব্যয়িত হয়েছিলো ভোগের দিকে।

এবার মধ্যশ্রেণীর কথা ধরা যাক। ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের চাকুরি পাওয়ার প্রধান মাধ্যম ছিল শিক্ষা। ঔপনিবেশিক সরকার শিক্ষার ধাঁচ আবার এমন করেছিলেন যার ফলে এ শিক্ষা মাধ্যমে থেকে যারা এসেছিলেন তারা হয়েছিলেন অনুকরণকারি, সিভিল সার্ভিসের যে কোন পদের আকাঙক্ষী যা তাদের নির্দিষ্ট পরিমাণ অর্থ দেবে, ক্ষমতা দেবে। ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের চাকরিতে যারা গিয়েছিলেন তারা টাকা জমিয়ে বিনিয়োগ করেছিলেন জমিতে, কিন্তু সঞ্চিত অর্থ বিনিয়োগ করেননি ব্যবসায় বা

বাণিজ্যে। কারণ, ঔপনিবেশিক গঠনে মেট্রোপলিটন পুঁজির সঙ্গে প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বীতায় তারা যেতে চাননি অনিশ্চয়তার কারণে।

স্বাধীন ব্যবসায় নামার জন্য বাঙালিকে সমসাময়িক বাংলা ·পত্র-পত্রিকাগুলি নিয়মিত আহ্বান জানিয়েছে। নির্দিষ্টভাবে বাঙালিকে না হলেও স্বাধীন ব্যবসায় নামার জন্য আহ্বান জানিয়েছে ইংরেজি পত্র-পত্রিকা চাকুরীজীবীরা যে বাণিজ্যের জন্য কিছু কিছু উদ্যেগ নেননি তা নয়। কিন্তু, সেগুলি খুব সম্ভব উদ্যোগের মধ্যেই সীমাবদ্ধ থেকেছে। স্বাধীন ব্যবসায় মধ্যশ্রেণীর না যাওয়ার আরেকটি কারণ হতে পারে শিক্ষা সম্পর্কে ফাঁকা গর্ব। তবে, মূল যে কারণে জমিদাররাও স্বাধীন ব্যবসায় বা শিল্পে পুঁজি বিনিয়োগ করেন নি সেই একই কারণে মধ্যশ্রেণীও যেতে চায় নি ব্যবসায়।

সরকারের যে কোন ধরনের কর আরোপের বিরুদ্ধে সব ধরনের সংবাদপত্রই ছিল সোচ্চার। অন্তত, এই একটি বিষয়ে তারা কখনও দ্বিমত পোষণ করেনি। যখনই সরকার কোন কর আরোপ করতে চেয়েছেন তখনই সব পত্র-পত্রিকা দলমত নির্বিশেষে এর প্রতিবাদ করেছে। যেমন, আয়করের কথা ধরা যাক। এর বিরুদ্ধে দেশীয় ও অ্যাংলো সম্পাদকরা যে অদৃশ্য আঁতাত করে এর বিরুদ্ধে লড়েছিলেন সে রকম আঁতাত আর কখনও দু'পক্ষের মধ্যে হয় নি। স্বয়ং ভাইসরয় নর্থব্রুক পর্যন্ত লিখেছিলেন। [২৬.৯.১৮৭২]-

I hope you will not suppose that the feeling against the Income tax or against new taxation expressed in the papers and elsewhere is an English feeling. I believe that there is hardly anyone in India, excepting a few at the seat of Government. who would deny the evil effect produced by the Income Tax, and the discontent which it has occasioned in many parts of India.

এখানে ঢাকা ব্যাংক সংক্রান্ত বেশ কটি সংবাদ/রচনা সংকলিত হলো। ঢাকা ব্যাংক ঢাকার প্রথম ব্যাংক। এ সংক্রান্ত তথ্য আমাদের কাছে প্রায় নেই বললেই চলে। সে পরিপ্রেক্ষিতেই এ সম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত রচনা/সংবাদ সংকলিত হলো]।

সূত্র

১ বড় ছোট সব ধরনের জমিদাররা প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই ছিলেন আঞ্চলিক মহাজন যারা টাকা বা ধানের মহাজনী করবার চালাতেন। দেখুন - Chittabrata Palit, *Tensions in Bengal Rural Society*, Calcutta. 1975. p. 20

2 Northbrook Papers. Uma Dasgupta, *Rise of an Indian Public*, Calcutta, 1977 chapter II.

সংকলন

SOMETHING ABOUT CAPITAL

The Dacca Jail Gunny Bags were as we are informed sold on Saturday last for Rs 40 a hundred. Is not this fact enough to induce the investment of capital in machinery to manufacture Gunny bags? It is not- and the reasons on this we believe to be, First that there are but few capitalists among us of any energy. There are many natives who have capital but most of them are men who will not depart from the stereotyped way of disposing of that capital sanctioned by the usages of their forefathers. No native has the courage to throw out a sprat to catch a whale. He prefers to keep the soprat rather than risk the chance of the whale never biting. Let no naturalist object that the whale feeds only on the infusorise . We did not make the proverb. and are not answerable for the knowledge of Natural History of the man who did. There is a native in Dacca, highly respected too who makes no use of his wealth but to throw it into a godown, where it remains till the bags rot off the silver they contain . He thinks he does his duty to mankind by being an indulgent landlord- so indulgent that all his ryots become idle rascals the pest of the country - and because he practices as an amateur physician; killing we are afraid more than he cures. The Second reason we believe to be that the different speculations in which capitalist of energy - Europeans- are engaged, are so profitable, from want of competition. as to give full employment to the capital they possess and not to force it out to seek other clientels or itself. There are two recognised means of employing capital among native. The one is Banking business under which we include Mehajunee and Exchange. and the other investment in land. Among Europeans of the Mofussil as yet there is scarcely any investment but in Indigo Factories. A few here and there are now beginning to do little "in country produce," as it is called that is to say export of the natural products of the country- A Third reason of the unwillingness to invest capital in the Mofussil is the execrable character and the intensely dilatory proceedings of our Mofussil courts as also the laws in existence unblushingly proclaiming their object to the deiscouragement of the settlement of Europeans in the Country ; as for instance that for requiring Security for cost to be deposited by every European who may go for six months to England in default of which his case will be struck off, or decided exparte, though he may be possessed of lakhs of rupees, invested in the country and though his opponent may be a pauper who has paid neither stamps nor vakeels fees, nor will do so even should the case be proved to be malicious and false; a thing exceedingly difficult to do before a set of Judges who consider their own countrymen as the greatest oppressors and wrongdoers in the country.- It is only the other day that we heard of a Commissioner in a Revenue case that came before him, deciding against a European and telling his friends that he was sure he was right in so deciding,

for said he "do you think, I could believe that old R.- had allowed himself to be kept ten years out of possession?" So that if a European obeys the law, and seeks for possession through the courts, he is to be disbelieved because he does so. He is only to be believed when he renders himself liable to punishment by the Magistrate, by taking forcible possession.- This is a most common error among the Civilians of the East India Company. They hold it as a rule that the European will right himself , and that it is only the native who is driven to the Civil Courts. The countary is the case in fact. The European, except where it is a case of the river rising a foot a day threatening his Indigo crop, which he is prevented by an opponent from cutting, will seldom resort to force, he knows the expense, the forgery, the perjury, the bribery it entails upon him. He knows the indignities to which he will be subjected by the upstarts of the Civil Service. He knows that if he fail, he will lose the" Hybut " the prestige that he has merely. as a European. The native has this prestige to gain,and therefore risks a few thousand rupees, knowing that if he loses the case he loses nothing, He is as he was before. If he gain, he gains everything. He rises out of the genus "Nigger". He is the only equal among his countrymen of the Sahebs. the conquerors of the land. He becomes a sort of David in the cave of Adullah, for to him flock all that are in "distress or discontented," and who fancy that they have any rights which they can establish by his power. He is offered shares in Zemindarees, on condition that he can obtain those Zemindarees for those who are his clients. To do so he surrounds himself with an army of lattials, of perjurers, of forgers. He becomes formidable to the authorities. He overrides all law. He assumes the honorable title of Roy. He is succesful in most of his cases. He becomes a power in the state. Let our planter friends - let any one who knows the Mofussil say if they cannot name him and if they do not know him, who, through the impotence of our government, has become one of the greatest curses which India holds.- These are a few of many causes which work against the investment of capital in the Mofussil, and these will not be removed until the present Civil service and the Court of Directors is swept away, a time which is soon coming, for do we not see the rats leaving the sinking ship- the FRIEND OF INDIA declaring that he knows but one man in the whole Civil service fit to be a Judge.- Imagine a country like Bengal, with forty millions of inhabitants, and we dont know how many millions worth of export , in which there is not a single judge. If Bengal were inhabited by any but the most peaceful and long suffering race on earth, and at the same time a race generally speaking highly honorable in all its transactions, such things would have long ago produced a revolution.

21.2.1857

[Law of Limited Liability]

THE PASSING of a LAW of LIMITED LIABILITY would be one of the greatest boons that could be conferred on the Indian Community,

both European and Native. The resources of the Country are lying undeveloped for want of Capital; and the private individual in receipt of a salary, or engaged in pursuits which enable him to accumulate a little money, has no investment for it, unless he be a possesor of Rs. 500, (for in the Mofussil the existence of the Savings Bank is unknown) and is willing to accept the small rate of interest accruing from Company's Paper; which, in a country where the rate of Interest ranges from 12 to 60 per cent per annum, he is generally unwilling to do. He therefore either buries his savings in the ground, by which that amount of capital is withdrawn from the circulation of the country; or he engages, clandestinely if a Government servant, in speculations, the risk of which is compensated by the enormous profit often made. But the very fact of these large profits being made, is the proof of want of competition, and of the existence of monopolies for the benefit of few, at the expense of the many and of the country. We may exemplify this by the article Lime, of wlich there are such large supplies in the distriet of Sylhet.

The prices paid for Lime in Dacca for the last fourteen years are as follows

In 1842	per 100 Maunds	Rs 22
1843	" do	" 18
1844	" do	" 18
1845	" do	" 23
1846	" do	" 25
1847	" do	" 23
1849	" do	" 22
1850	" do	" 19
1851	" do	" 18
1852	" do	" 17.8
1853		" 22
in February	" do	" 25
August	" do	" 28
November	" do	" 34
December	" do	" 37
1854	" do	" 39
1855	" do	" 35
1856	" do	" 34

From this table we see, that in 1853, when the demand arose for railway purposes, the price of Lime rose nearly 100 per cent, and has remained about 75 percent higher than the price at which it was formerly a profitable article of trade. This is a rate of profit to tempt any one to engage in the trade which gives it, and in America or England a Company would have immediately been formed to burn Lime, to the great benefit of themselves and of the Railway Company. But there was no security for the small capitalist, that his having embarked his two or three hundred rupees in this scheme, might not involve him so the amount of lakhs; and the richer man, afraid of involving the whole of the rest of his property, could not invest his

ten or twenty thousand Rupees in a Company, whose working he could not personally inquire into.

The Tea discovery in Sylhet and Cachar would, we have no doubt, be the cause of many Companies springing up, were the liability of the Shareholders limited only to the Amount-invested.

Every one who knows those countries, and has seen the wild tea, speaks of a Tea plantation as a sure fortune. But what inhabitant of Calcutta will risk his all, and move than all, by purchasing a few shares in a plantation as the frontiers of Thibet, and which it would require for days of disagreeable travelling to visit, and as long to return.Tea then must be left to individual speculator who for want of capital, must work on a small scale and expensively; for large concerns are always cheaper than small ones. The wild forest must fall slowly before the axe,- demand for in part from Europe will very slowly arise, — and the young ladies of England will have grown old ones, before tea has fallen a farthing a pound in consequence of large production of British India and all because we have no Limited Liability Act.

If the natives once saw what could be done by combination, what companies might we not expect to see? These might, and would be. Lime companies, Indigo and sugar plantation Fibre companies. The magnificent Berhampouter would have her waters lashed into foam by a thousnd steamers, instead of being merely rippled by the crazy boats which now slowly crawl along. Even a railroad might connect the Tea growing district with Calcutta without the said of a Government guarantee.

Since the above was written which in some two month as so, we have heard that the government had (the companys phrase) resumed for confiscated the lime quaries. An advertisement in the Gazettes stating that the confiscated property would be let to the highest bidder, for a term of five years. The Gazette containing this announcement reached Dacca some five day before the date fixed for the sale. There capitalists in Dacca who would have bid, had they had time to make their arrangements oh! that the appointment of a parliamentary Commission, to enquire into the misgovernment of India. might permit us to reveal our suspicions with regard to this, to say the least of it, extraordinary arrangement on the part of Government greatly in want of money.

14.6.1856

DACCA BANK

AT A MEETING of the directors of the Dacca Bank[৩৮], held on the 26th April 1856;

Kajeh Abdool Gunny was requested to take the chair.

The Secretary laid before the meeting a statement showing the wishes of the present share holders of the bank with regard to the question of extending the Deed of partnership expiring by effluxion of time on the 30th of June next, as provided for in the 4th clause of the Deed of settlemant of the Bank.

From this statement it would appear that there were in favor of

Extending the term of	21	share holders	83 Votes
Closing the Bank	11	Do	47 Do
Who have not replied	4	Do	20 Do

It was therefore resolved that the Bank be wound up : and the share holders paid off as soon as possible.

It was farther proposed, and unanimously agreed, that a new Bank be established; and that the option of purchasing the new stock be offred first to the share holders of the old Bank, before being offered to the public.

The Director are of opinion that, from the increasing trade of Eastern Bengal, an enlarged capital can be safely and profitably employed, and, therefore propose to continue the capital as present, of 1000 shares of Rs 500 each, of which as 300 are to be paid up, in order that they may have the power, if required, of increasing the capital by calling up farther instalments. After a vote of thank to the chairmen the meeting separted.

(Signed) K. Abdool Gunny
Chairman

3.5.1856

DACCA BANK

The Dacca Bank instituted in 1848. has just been wound up, in consequence of the expiry of the deed of partnership, and the wish of the many share holder residing at a distance, and unacquanted with Dacca, to realise their shares. The share holders residing at Dacca determined to open a New Bank, which has been done. Almost all shares have been already taken by inhabitants of Dacca. It has always been our opinion that the Directer of Bank puffed the institution too little. No one knew anything about it, and the share were unsalable except in Dacca. The following is result of the useful operations of the Bank during the last ten years. In June 1847 the first half yearly dividend at the rate of 6 percent per annum was declared. Ever since that date the half yearly dividend was at the rate of 8 percent per annum,except in December 1853 when $8\frac{1}{2}$ppercent January 1856, 12 percent, July 1856 $13\frac{1}{4}$percent were the rates per annum at which the half yearly dividends calculated and paid to the share holders. During the ten years a fund of Rs 23, 235. 11.11— the whole paid up capital being only Rs 2, 92, 800— was accumulated. on the closing of the Bank Rs 96.12 persent in addition to the half yearly dividend at the rate of $13\frac{1}{4}$percent per annum was declared to be immediately payable to retiring share holders of the balance Rs. 29,152.12.7 the Directors hope shortly to realise nearly the whole. The case of delay in the imperfect commercial law signing in the Mofussil. The Bank has been as a speculation, to trade it has been of

incalculable beneft, as those engaged in trade will acknowledge. We wish the New Bank all success.

26.7.1856

[Life Insurance]

We have often wondered why all christians, whether European or Eurosian, didnot insure their lives.The natives unfortunately cannot yet do so, but we hope the day is not far distant, when statistics sufficient have been collected, to enable the offices, which are now so eagerly competing for European lives, to ensure natives also—One resson why people did not insure formerly, was because the rates were so high, that but few could afford to pay them. Another, more especially affecting residents in the Mofussil, was, that there was no one to give the necessary information, or to supply the necessary forms, and that it was too great a bother to write to Calcutta about them. Both of these objections are now, thanks chiefly to the Medical Invalid Society, removed. The rates have been reduced as low as is consistent with the safety of the Society, and Agents have been established in all the principal towns in the Mofussil.

But many have said "I have an independent income, large enough to provied for my family after my death." Have these ever considered how useful a few thousand rupees would be at the time of death, to meet expenses which must be unavoidably incurred by the family, and the want of which may cause them to hamper their income with incumbrances, which may not be paid off for many years — Many again imagine that they will have saved as much money during the remainder of their lives, as would have paid the sum insured twice over, and no man thinks that he will die young. But the chances are, that he will not have saved as he expects, for the premiums are calculated so as to be equal to what there is every chance the individual would have actually saved at the time of death, with a small addition for the expenses of management & c.

We very lately had the example most prominently before us, of two families of young children, who were deprived of their fathers, and would have been left in a state of absolute beggary, instead of, as at present, enjoying a competency which is amply sufficient to educate them, and portion the daughters, if it had not been that the fathers had insured their lives, although still young men. We consider insurance to be a duty incumbent on every one, who has any one whether wife or children, or mother, or sister, dependent upon him.

We are happy to learn from the following extract from the ENGLISHMAN of the 13th Instant, that our Indian society is beginning to consider insurance a duty.

" The reports of the different Calcutta Life offices for the year ending June 1856 are now before the public. The Medical has issued 74 new policies insuring Rs 39, 11, 048 the *Universal*, 161 new policies insuring Rs. 10,06,900; the *Laudable* does not state the number of policies is Rs, 51, 36,100 against Rs. 53,72,750 last year.

The total assurances in force in the three offices mentioned amounts to Rs. 51,86,100 against Rs. 53,72,750 last year. The total assurances in force in the three offices do not appear to publish their results yearly, but some of them do a considerable business, the Family Endowment for instance which we fancy to be in receipt of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs yearly in premiums covering insurances for about 48 lacs. Supposing all the other offices together have not more than the same amount of liabilites on life policies have outstanding policies for nearly four crores, and are in receipt of a yearly income from premiums on these policies of about eighteen lacs. This however must be considered only a rude approximation to the truth, which in the abscence of the necessary statements cannot be ascertained positively. The yearly premium income of the Medical Office is about six lacs, and of the *Universal* about four and half lacs.

The average sum assured under the Medical policies is Rs. 5, 943, the *Universal* Rs. 8, 701, the *Laudable* Rs. 8,207, and the total claims in the *Medical* in the year amount to Rs. 3,03,500, and in the *Universal* Rs. 2,16,990. The percentage of lapses on outstanding risks proves nothing, unless we know the number and average age of the lives insured.

The competition in Life Assurance in Calcutta has recently become much more active from the fact, that the rates of the different offices have been out down to the minimum. To the Medical Office is due the merit of having introduced and popularised in India the low premium system, and the experiment appears to have been attended with unexampled success, for we believe that no Assurance Company either here or in Europe has ever before established so large a business in so short a time.

The offices appear to be steadily progressing in the accumulation of funds. The Universal has added Rs. 8,62,942, and the Medical Rs. 2,76,232, to their investments in the year, after paying all claims and charges.

19.9.1856

THE DUTY OF PAYING TAXES

One of the most important duties of a citizen of a free state which we had not space to allude to last week is that of paying taxes; and the right which arises from that duty is, that of calling for the accounts and criticising the expenditure of the taxes so paid and the appointment of those who are to administer the public funds.—A state or nation is a congregtion of men associated for the common benefit of all. conquered state, or a state under the rule of a despotic government, may be compared to a family. In it the father—the other members being the wife who has properly speaking no rights, having by oath surrendered them to the husband, and be children who can have no rights, because, even if they were given to them, they would be unable to exersise them for the benefit of the community, though they might do so to its injury—in a family, the father is sole and

unquestioned disposer of the fate and actions of each member of it. The children can acquire no rights, because they in no way contribute to its support, having nothing of their own but what is given to them by the father. This is the state of India under the rule of the East India Company. The soil belongs to the Company, but it has been given up to the use of Zemindars, ryots and others on condition of their paying a certain rent for it. As long as the Company can get on with that rent, the Zemindars—the children —have acquired no right of interference in its doings. But supposing the father of a family falls into difficulites, and the children, having grown up to manhood and emloyed to advantage the education or the money which the father had in his prosperous days given to them, should come forward and contribute towards the common support of the family, each in proportion to his means, the family would become, as it were, a free state and each of the children in proportion as he contributed to its support, would have a voice in its management and the direction of its affairs. The children or the citizens would have laid the sate under an obligaion, and would have a right to demand a return.

The obligation of a citizen to pay taxes can never be commuted for any fixed sum. The Bengalee Zemindar believes that he can never be called upon to pay anything but his "perpetually" settled revenue. He would have learned the contrary of this long ere now, if that revenue had not been fixed at far too high a rate, at a rate that not only paid the expenses of the state, but left an enormous surplus. — The cause of this impossibility of the perpetual commutation of the Revenue for a certain fixed sum is, the fluctuation of the value of labor with regard to money. As a state advances in prosperity and in civilisation, the value of labor rises, and that of money of course proportionately falls. But the state has to employ the same if not a much larger quantity of labor, in the shape of Judges,Magistrates, soldiers, sailors & and the money which it exacts from its subjects, procures only half the number of men which it did a hundred years ago, while its necessities demand double that number. Free great quantity of that money by paying in Honor. They manage that a great deal of their work shall be done by justices of the Peace, and Honorary Magistrates; but Honor will not pay the common soldier, who a hundred years ago, was rich upon six pence a day, and can now scarce support himself, having no private means, upon a shilling. The same—any a greater number of troops must be kept up, and they cannot live except upon twice the amount of money. More money must therefore be raised from the the subjects, But as in this country taxation was commuted in perpetuity for a certain sum, the Government cannot demand more without giving to the people an equivalent, in the shape of a right to investigate into the manner in which this additional sum is expended, and to grant or refuse it as they may judge right — in other words, political freedom.

A state or nation being an association of men for the common good, the first object to be looked to is the defence from external

injury of the whole. Each man in the nation ought, as we showed last week, to come forward in times of danger in the common defence; but as these calls, if frequently repeated would much injure business, that trade or business which contributes by the taxes it pays so enormously for the benefit of the whole, the subjects of free states have agreed, that it is abvisable to pay a part of their profits to a set of men who shall devote themselves entirely to the business of the defence of the state—in other words to maintain standing armies. Should the danger become imminent, and the army be insufficient, the duty again recurs to each man capable of bearing arms, of arming in the common cause as was the case in Britain when the invasion by Napoleon was apprehended and is the case in India at this present time.

26.12.1857

TAXATION

THE FRIEND OF INDIA has promulgated another of his mad schemes for the renovation of our dilapidated finances, which shows how much need we have in India of men who know something of the country and the people, to regulate our taxation. We have legislators who know nothing of either, to give us our laws, but this is remedied by the fact that neither magistrates or people care anything for the laws. Bribery gets the requisite order from the former, and the later, when oppossed beyond measure, either from extensive associations like the Ferazees for mutual protection or keep lattials and fight their own battles like the planters and zemindars, or reble and cause Government to place them under separate and peculiar laws and their very best officials, like the Sonthals. The magistrate, so long as he confines himself to an individual, can ruin him with case, whatever the law may say and it is but seldom that he takes a spite against a whole district. If he does, as Mr Lautour did in Noakholly, he is made a Judge, and so rendered powerless with a higher salary. But with financiers it is different. They have to raise a revenue from a whole people. They have to lay down rules for taxation, and when once those rules are laid down, they are committed to subordinates who have to carry them into extinction, without respect of persons. It is most important then that a scheme of taxation shall be one which, however it may be objected to on account of the sum of money it takes from one pocket, cannot be considered either unnecessary with regard to the wants of the state, or unfair with regard to the, means of individuals. The fair rule is, that the richer a man is the more he should be taxed; for, if the state be destroyed for want of funds the more he will lose. The man who has nothing, should be taxed nothing, for he is more likely to benefit than to lose by any change in the existing state of things. The man who has ten rupees should be taxed in proportion to what he has as should the man who has a thousand or insure for ten rupees I pay but a small premium. If insure for a lakh I pay one very much higher. The FRIEND'S seheme is this—that a tax of Rs 20 should be imposed upon the wedding of

each in individual in India who realises an income more then Rs 50 a month, and Rs 7 on all down even to paupers who have less than this. We know that the natives are very much degraded, that they hold that *female chastity* is only to be preserved by bolts and bars and continual watching, but we think that such a tax as this would, even in the most highly Christian nation, be but & premium upon concubinage. The wages of a laboring man are two annas a day. Seven Rupees are therefore equal, leaving out Sundays and holidays, to the wages of fifty-six days in the year, or equal to in England 5.12. Imagine a laboring man at home paying to the state 5.12 for the privilege of being married. It would be an impossiblity, and his wife would be a Mistress,and his children would be bastards, and whoredom and bastardy would become the rule not the execption throughout England as such a scheme carried out will make it through India. But besides this, look at the inequality of the tax. We shall not follow it from an increase, depending upon health, sobriety & c, of two annas a day,but shall at once jump to Rs 200 a month derived from funds or landed property, and suppose that the marriage tax of Rs 20 proposed by the FRIEND commence from the point. Here we find it equal to the one hundred of the year. But if the man to be taxed grows richer, and has Rs 400 a month, only the two hundred and fortieth part of his annual receipts is taken from him if he marry. When he has Rs 1000 a month the 600th part is from him,and thus the richer he grows the less he has to pay for his marriage. Taxation thus falls in the greatest measure upon the poor man, man and not upon the rich, a result especially to be avoided by the financier who will render himself popular, or who, in other words, will not drive the people he governs into revolt. All Hindoos will however be exempt from the tax altogether, for they are married as infants, and infants can in most cases have no income whatever, so that we must look for some other source of Revenue.

Unless we have statistics, any suggestion we can make must be but a leap in the dark, but we have an idea that an annas stamp for receipts for rent, advances for Indigo and to native workmen, tradesmen's bile &c, would be rather profitable and not oppressive. The tax on marriages too, at lower rates for the poor,say a rupee, and higher for the rich might do, also an income tax, but for all these we require statistics and new machinery. Under the Civil Servies each of these taxes would be but a pretence for opperssion.

11.10.1858

DACCA BANK AFFAIRS

We have been requested to insert the following correspondence, from which several morals may be deduced; the only one however to which we would at present direct attention, is the chance of justice Europeans would have were they submitted to courts where either judges or jury were natives.

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS.

Sir,— I have to beg the favor of your publishing conspicuosly the following correspondence, which may not be without interest to the public. My only object in seeking for publication is that the truth may be known, and my own character cleared with the pbulic, and the Mercantile part of it in particular.

I remain Sir,

Yours faithfully
A.FORBES.
Late Secretary Dacca Bank

To R. G. CARNEGIE ESQ.
DACCA
Dacca Bank 25th September 1858

My dear Carnegie

With reference to the misunderstanding which has taken place between Kajeh Abdool Gunny and myself, I wish to put the facts on record, both for the information of the Directors and Shareholders, and for my own justification. I think the best form of doing so will be that of a letter to yourself, both because you are one personally acquainted with every thing that has occurred and because you have taken the trouble to try to make up the quarrel.

Mr Barry of the firm of Mackay Barry and Co. of Serajgunge,who has for several years been a very large customer of the Bank, wrote to me on the 2nd August, stating that in order to guard against the Bank's suddenly refusing to cash his drafts in the middle of the Jute season as was done last year during the Commercial panic, he wished to pledge certain properties belonging to him, of the value of at least two lakhs of rupees, as collatteral security for his drafts on merchants in Calcutta, to the amount of two lakhs. I sent this letter to the Directors with the following report.

I suppose the accompanying letter will be satisfactory to the Directors. Mr. Barry has thereto had credit with the Bank for a lakh and a half to two lakhs without any security. He now offers security in order to guard against the Bank's suddenly refusing to cash his drafts as last year. The amount of the credit and form of bond will be settled when Mr. Barry arrives here.

(signed) A. FORBERS
Secretary.

Upon this the Directors made the following remarks:—

With the security Mr. Barry offers, the Bank may safely give him the required credit and I would advise that the proposed arrangement be completed without delay."

(Signed) R. G. CARNEGIE

Ditto (Signed) J. G. N. POGOSE

"If Mr. Barry will satisfy the Directors by giving the security of two lakhs of Rupees, I have no objection to make an arrangement with him on his arrival.

(Signed) Kajeh Abdool Gunny."

Accordingly when Mr. Barry arrived here I took him over to Kajeh Abdool Gunny, and having explained to him the nature of the bond and securities that Mr. Barry was to give, obtained his consent that the writings should be made out and the credit opened. A stamp of the value of Rs 120 was purchased and the bond written upon it and executed on the 30th August, on which day I received from Kajeh Abdool Gunny Rs. 70,000 with Rs 60,000 of which I purchased bills from Mr. Barry. On the 7th September Kajeh Abdool Gunny sent for and examined the bond on which he made the following remarks. "I have looked over the Security of Mr. G. R. Barry which is not done strictly according to Law, however, I think this writing cannot do much harm to the Bank. The only thing required is to prove the deeds of the property engaged for the Security and you have got them with you nothing more wanting, if not you may receive the deeds from Mr. Barry and deposit them in the Bank till the amount is fully realized." It will be seen from my consulting Kajeh Abdool Gunny more especially than any other of the directors, that I expected to get the whole of the money the drafts from him, and from the care he bestowed upon these writings, which differed from his leaving every thing to the Secretary and officers of the Bank as he usually does in other transactions, I understood that he intended to advance the money, especially as during the whole time I have been in the Bank, his father and himself have invariably advanced all sums required by the Bank. I therefore took no care for providing for Mr. Barry's wants elsewhere, as I might easily have done; and was not a little surprised when, on the 16th September, Mr. Barry's boat having arrived for Rs 50,000 and I having sent over for the money, I received instead a note saying, "I do not know Mr Barry. I was agreed to let the Bank have the sum of two lakhs of Rupees on which I have lent one Lakh and eighty-five thousand Rupees up to the 15th and am ready to lend the balance of Rs 15,000 when you require." One of the lakhs referred to was that which both Kajeh Abdool Gunny and his father have been the custom of lending to the Bank every cold weather, for the use of its general customers. Having taken security from Mr. Barry for two lakhs more I think I was justified in expecting that I was to have credit with him for that amount in addition to the sum I always got

without security. If however I was to get no more from Kajeh Abdool Gunny, this should have been distinctly stated to me, and I ought to have been authorized to raise the money elsewhere, which I could have had but little difficulty in doing. Luckily, during this difficulty in which I so undexpectedly found myself, I received a draft on the Collector here, payable from first available funds for Company's Rupees 35,000. There was no money in the Collectory here, but I persuaded Mr. Haly, Mr. Barry's Assistant, who had come for the money, to take a draft for Rs 40,000 on Bogra, and the balance in cash, which I collected from friends in the Bazaar. I next invited Kajeh Abdool Gunny and yourself to come to the Bank and examine Mr. Barry's title deeds and make some arrangement with regard to carrying on the business of the Bank. You came, examined the deeds, and pronounced them to be satisfactory. You then asked me to show how much money I should require till the Poojah. I drew out a sketch showing that if we went on at the usual rate I should require a lakh, additional to the money I expected to come in; but I stated that should you order me to do so, I could scrimp my customers and do with less. Kajeh Abdool Gunny was then asked by you and myself how much he would advance, on which he said that the utmost that he would give was Rs 5,000 or Rs 10,000 if the Bank were in great difficulty. I then told him that if this were the case he must seek for another Secretary, that I was not a rich man, and had but my chracter to depend upon, and that if I could not depend upon the directors sticking to directions they had given me in their own hand writing, I could not continue in a situation where I was liable to be made a liar to the customers of the Bank and the mercantile community in general. Kajeh Abdool Gunny expressed himself warmly in reply, and stated that, when he authorised the credit to Mr Barry, he did not intend to advance the money himself. (If this be the case why did he accuse me afterwards, as I hear he did, of having gone to the Bazaar for money for Mr. Barry, contrary to the understanding that had always existed between the Bank, and his father and himself. If he were not to lend me the money, and I was not to raise it in the Bazaar, how was I possibly to give Mr. Barry the amount of the credit which he as a director had autherised my doing, and for which he had taken such heavy security from Mr. Barry?) As the tone of the conversation was getting very warm I requested him to be quiet, for that I could not trust myself if it went on much longer. Kajeh Abdool Gunny next called a meeting of the Directors, at which you were present, not at the Bank, but at his own house where he stated that I had called him a liar and had told him to "choop." You, I believe, explained what I had really said, and the other directors, or a majority of them, agreed that as the matter seemed to be a personal quarrel between Kajeh Abdool Gunny and myself, you should be requested to do your utmost to accomodate our differences.I confess that when you first spoke to me on the subject, I felt very unwilling to make any advances towards Kajeh Abdool Gunny, as I was not aware that I had done any thing calling for apology. However yielding to the

repeated arguments of yourself and Mr. Dunne, I authorised you to say Kajeh Abdool Gunny on my behalf, that I was sorry that we had misunderstood each other's meaning with regard to the money to be advanced for Mr. Barry's credit, that I had never called him a liar, and that I did not mean the expression with regard to his being quiet in the offensive manner in which "Choop" is understood by a native; which no one whose knowledge of English was not every imperfect would have supposed me to have done, for you who were present, during the whole time of the discussion, had not remarked it, and did not know what Kajeh Abdool Gunny alluded to when he mentioned it. You took the trouble of calling on Kajeh Abdool Gunny to explain all this, and the result has I think shown that the feeling which prompted me not to take the initiative in any reconciliation was a true one. I will quote your own note as to the result of the trouble you took. You write on the 24th Instant, "I gave the explanation you authorised to Gunny Meah and had reason to think it was statisfactory, however he gave me no definite reply at the time but promised to see me again during the day. However in place of coming he sent me the enclosed Note No. 1

To R. G. CARNEGIE ESQ.

My dear Sir,— If Mr. Forbes will write to me what you mentioned this morning I will be happy to give up the matter, but it will be distinctly understood that I will not have to advance two lacks of rupees to the Bank for lending the amount to Mr. Barry as Mr. Forbes claims it. I would advise him to have a meeting of all the directors to determine how the business and other affairs should be carried on the future.

Yours faithfully

(Signed) Kajeh Abdool Gunny

Your note then goes on to say, "To this " I replied you had declined giving the explanation in writing and that I had agreed that it was not necessary. Under these circumstances, it would be useless to refer to you again on the subject, and I hoped he would accept the explanation as made by me, which in my opinion was ample.

To this he replied by note No. 2.

To R. G. CARNEGIE Esq.

My dear Sir,— I am sorryto learn that Mr. Forbes did not agree to give in writing what he communicated through you. I could not understand the real cause of his objecting to do so. I was quite ready to settle the matter with him if he would only agree to the condition proposed in my previous letter but since he has not done so, I have nothing more to say on the subjects.

Yours faithfully.

(Signed) KAJEH ABDOOL GUNNY

You say "I will leave him to renew the subject or not as he thinks fit, and if he remain silent we must consider what ought to be done next"

After having read this letter, be kind enough to return it to me as I wish to circulate it among the Directors, who I hope will come to some determination as to the steps to be taken for the future working of the Bank. I am doing all I can, and hope to be successful in keeping my engagements with my constituents, not withstanding the unexpected position in which I find myself placed. I also wish it to be understood that I intend to publish this letter if compelled to do so by the propagation of absurd stories to my discredit, several of which are going about, or if the course taken by the directors should compel me to vindicate my character in the eyes of the mercantile world; for as I told Kajeh Abdool Gunny in your presence, my character is of more value to me than any salary I might receive as Secretary of the Bank. With many thanks to you, my dear Carnegie, for the support and assistance you have given me, both in this matter, and always as a Director of the Bank,

I remain

Yours Sincerely

(Signed) A. FORBES

Secretary.

To A. FORBES Esq.

My dear Forbes,— I return your explanation which is a correct statement of the case, and to me quite satisfactory. I have heard nothing more from Gunny Meah.

Yours sincerely

(Signed) R. G. CARNEGIE

27th September 1858.

After this, on the 6th or 7th of October, a meeting of Directors was held at Kajeh Abdool Gunny's house, at which certain charges were referred against Mr. Forbes by that gentleman, the nature of which will be understood from Mr. Forbes' reply, which is as follows:—

To R. G. CARNEGIE Esq.

Chairman of the Meeting of the Directors of the Dacca Bank held at Kajeh Abdool Gunny's house on the 6th Instant.

Dacca Bank 8th October 1858.

Dear Sir,— I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of the proceedings of the above meeting, at which certain charges against me were laid before the Directors by Kajeh Abdool Gunny , and asking for my reply.

1st. I am charged with keeping in my hands both the keys of the Treasure chest, instead of allowing the Khajanchee to retain one, as has hitherto been the custom of the Bank. The first time I departed

from this custom was on the day of the panic, the second time, was the day of the mutiny here. On that day the key was in the Khajanchee's hands in a distant part of the city, and had any mishap occurred to the Sailors, so as to cause us to retreat to the Mills, I could have saved neither the treasure nor, what was much more important, the documents of the Bank, in value of from four to five lakhs of rupees, for I could not have opened the chest to take them out. To guard against the possiblity of such a mishap occurring again, and until the arrival of more settled times, I thought it my duty to keep the key in my own hands. I have to beg that the Directors will examine the documents and contents of the chest, when I will restore the key to the Khajanches or otherwise as they think fit. I have to submit that if I had acted otherwise than I have done in this matter, I should have been guilty of neglect of the interests committed to my care. I erred, perhaps, in not formally communicating the fact to the Directors.

2nd. I am accused by Kajeh Abdool Gunny of having, on several occasions, borrowed meney in the bazaar and elsewhere without obtaining the sanction of the Directors, and among others from Mr. Cachick, Kishenath Roy, and Kajeh Abdool Gunny . I submit that if I was in fault in borrowing money, Kajeh Abdool Gunny a director, and one having a great stake in the bank, was equally in fault in lending it to me, and cannot therefore by my accuser. But I also submit that I did not borrow money from him without the knowledge of the Directors, for it was notorious, not only to them but to the whole of Dacca, that Kajeh Abdool Gunny was, and with his father had been for many years, in the habit of lending very large sums of money to the Bank. With regard to the sums borrowed from Mrs. Catchick and Kishenath Roy, they were borrowed at a very low rate interest— six per cent— for three months, for the purpose of cashing Bills at twelve per cent, which the directors had authorised me to do to the extent of Four lakhs and seventy Thousand Rupees for which purpose I had borrowed one lakh of rupees at 6 per cent, and another at 12 per cent from Kajeh Abdool Gunny, and on that gentlemen's refusing to lend me any more, I was forced to go to the bazaar or elsewhere, for at least a Lakh and Seventy Thousand rupees more, as three lakhs of rupees of the whole capital of the bank is tied up by the Directors themselves in fixed loans on mortgage &c. But besides this, it was an absolute necessity that on the days I borrowed money I should raise it somehow, at however high a rate of interest, for the bank was liable to have cheques drawn upon it by persons having floating deposits, to the amount of upwards of Sixty Thousand Rupees. If these had not been met the credit of the Bank would have been ruined for ever. It is useless to say that I should have consulted the directors. If the directors will sit in the Bank from 11 A. M. to 2 P. M. every day, then nothing will be done without them; but if this is not done, and circulars are to be sent round the town for every matter, the Bank must loose its reputation for quickness and regularity, which is its great attraction in the eyes of those who deal with it. The only thing

that can be done on the part of the directors is to laydown broad general rules for the direction for the Secretary and for his guidance, and by frequent visits to the Bank, and inspection of the Books, to see that he does not exceed the powers that have been given to him. Such rules, with regard to the discounting of bills, have been laid down, and if the directors will visit the Bank, I can show them that they have not been infringed by me. The money borrowed from Mrs. Catchick was brought to me by Mr. Pogose, a director, and one who is often in the bank and knows what is going on. He came into the bank saying "I have brought you some money. It was I who advised Mrs. Catchick to lend it to you." It was evident that he did not think my borrowing money wrong, nor was it thought wrong by Kajeh Abdool Gunny who had lent me money, and that too at a very high rate of interest, nor did Mr. Carnegie think it wrong, and these are the three oldest directors, and those best acquainted with the working of the Bank.*

3rd. It is said that I have lent money to various parties at different rates of interest, without obtaining the sanction of the Directors. I am not aware of having done so, but if cases are particularised, I have no doubt I shall be able to explain them.

4th. It is said that I have made arrangements with various parties to discount their drafts throughout the year at an average of 12 per cent. This is not the case. I have entered into no such arrangement verbally or otherwise with any of the customers of the Bank, with the exception of Mr. Foley, with whom I made a verbal agreement in the presence of all the directors at the last general meeting. So far is this from being the case, that I charged Mr. Gregg, one of my best and oldest customers, fourteen per cent on the 27th and 30th Ultimo, and on the 25th November of the last year, I discounted Rs 25,000 for Messrs Mackay Barry & Co., one of my largest customers, at the rate of 14 per cent. The bazaar rates are seldom as high as those of the Bank except for doubtful rice bills, the repayment of which is liable to such uncertainty that we refuse to have any thing to do with them whatever, in the Bank.

5th. I am requested to explain what profit it is to the Bank to borrow money at 12 per cent and discount drafts at a similar rate. One obvious profit is, that the discount becomes immediately available to the Bank as Capital, and commences to give its, return in interest, so that if I borrow a lakh of rupees for one month, I can with it purchase one lakh one thousand rupees worth of bills, and I thus commence to use immediately the interest which will not become available to the lender till the end of the month, so that I profit by the interest of one thousand rupees for one month over the

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* The answer to this, handed in at the meeting of the 9th Instant was, that the profit of theBank upto the end of September last was Rs 14.3. per cent. It might have been added that the whole of the 12 per cent loan had been paid off, and that the profit at the end of october would be much greater even than this A. F.

money lender. But I do not borrow at this high rate of interest for any fixed time. I have the privilege of repaying it when I choose. I am thus enabled, by the money I have hitherto obtained from Kajeh Abdool Gunny , to command the market, so that I can take advantage of anything occurring, whether my own capital is available or not, and repay the loan whenever convenient to me. It is in this way, by having command of large capital at will, without having to declare a dividend upon it except for the time that it is actually in use, that we make our profit. The Bank declares a twelve percent dividend during the cold weather half of the year when it is borrowing at 12 per cent. It is with the greatest difficulty it declares 8 per cent during the first half of the year when its coffers are full. But this is a subject which cannot be explained in a letter. I would add, however, that the habitually raising the rate of discount much above 12 per cent, especially to our large customers, would infallibly kill the goose that laid the golden eggs.

I remain

Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully

A. FORBES

Secretary.

At a meeting held at the Dacca Bank on Saturday the 9th October 1858: Present Messrs. Carnegie, Pogose, Foley, Kajeh Abdool Gunny , Moonshee Deenonath and Baboo Modoo Soodun.

Mr. Carnegie was requested to take the chair.

The Chairman read the Secretary's reply to the charges brought against him by Kajeh Abdool Gunny at the meeting held on the 6th instant. Kajeh Abdool Gunny pronounced himself not satisfied with the explanation given by the Secretary.

1st. That in taking the key of the Treasure chest from the Kajanchee on the occasions mentioned he was warranted by the panic prevailing at the time, but that he was wrong in not returning it on the second occasion when confidence was restored.

2nd. That is borrowing money in the Bazaar without the knowledge of the Directors he was wrong, and that the reasons assigned for departing from the established custom are insufficient.

3rd. That in lending money at 6 per cent Interest it appears he had the sanction of Messrs Pogose and Kajeh Abdool Gunny. This charge is therefore withdrawn.

4th. That the explanation that no agreement has been made with any of the customers of the Bank to discount their drafts at a fixed rate throughout the year, except in the instance mentioned, is satisfactory; but that he is wrong in not charging a higher rate than 12 per cent supposing that higher rates then prevailed in the Bazaar.

Proposed by Kajeh Abdool Gunny.

That as the Secretary has alsways shown himself unwilling to submit to the auhtority of the Directors, and that as for the future it will be necessary to have more strict rules, he is of opinion that to ensure their being carried out, it will be necessary to appoint some other person as Secretary in Mr. Forbes' place, Seconded by Mr. Foley who added that Mr. Forbes having other occupations it is impossible he can carry on efficiently the duties of Secretary.*

Proposed by Mr. Pogose that as the Secretary had been found guilty of irregularities only, and that as he has worked hard and the Bank under his management is in a flourishing condition, he ought to be retained, and more stringent rules laid down for his future guidance in order to prevent a recurrence of the same.

On the votes of the meeting being taken there appeared,

For his removal.	For his being retained.
Kajeh Abdool Gunny	Mr. Pogose
Mr. Foley	Mr. Carnegie
Moonshee Deenonath	
Baboo Modoo Soodun	

(True Copy)

R. G. CARNEGIE

Chairman.

MINUTE BY J. G. N. POGOSE ESQ.

Having deliberately considered the charges brought by Kajeh Abdool Gunny, one of the directors of the Dacca Bank against Mr. Forbes the Secretary, and his defence, I am of opinion that he is guilty of nothing else but several irregularities in the discharge of his duties, and as I am inclined to think that they, if not wholly, in a great measure, arose on account of the Directors having allowed him from the very commencement of his appointment, to have his own way in almost every thing he did; beside as I feel convinced that he has in no way injured the Bank, but exerted his utmost for its prosperity, and perhaps hence the present most flourishing condition of the Institution, so, under the above circumstances, I cannot agree with

* At the time that Mr. Forbes accepted the Secretaryship of the Bank, at the urgent request of Kajeh Abdool Gunny's father, the salary was reduced from Rs 500 to Rs 400 a month on the express terms that Mr. F. should carry on other business in which he was then engaged, without which permission Mr. F. refused to accept the Secretaryship. It is also to be mentioned that there have been, since its commencement, three Secretaries of the Dacca Bank. The first who was in office only a year and a half, declared dividends averaging $7\frac{1}{2}$ percent. The Second, Mr. Coull, averaged during $4\frac{1}{2}$ years eight and one ninth per cent. The third, Mr. Forbes, not withstanding that the capital of the Bank was increased by one fourth two years ago, has declared, during six years, a dividend averaging upwards of $9\frac{1}{2}$ half percent. Besides this he would up the old Bank and although that operation is not yet completed, paid Rs. 106 to each one of the shareholders for every Rs. 100 he possessed. A. F.

the four Directors who have voted for his dismissal, as I do not consider this course at all fair and reasonable. I would therefore propose that a set of stringent rules, at a meeting of the Directors or Shareholders of the Bank be framed for the future.

With reference to the Secretary's remarks which I quote in the margin I state the following facts, and leave the other Directos to judge how far I am to be blamed in the matter. About a month ago my Aunt Mrs. Johannes Catchick mentioned to me that she immediately expected some money from Calcutta, and cannot make up her mind how to invest the same, and whether I would advise her to lend it to the Bank which I replied I certainly would, at least for such time until she could find opportunities of making a more profitable investment. A few days after which she sent her sirkar to me saying that she wished to lend ten thousand rupees, and would wish to know what the rate of interest would be, to which I replied the usual rate of five per cent per annum; on this the man asked, will not the Bank pay six per cent? my answer was, no! however after two or three days he made his appearance again and informed me that Mr. Forbes had Agreed to pay six per cent but only for a short time, that is till the end of the current christian, year and Mem Shaheb requested that I should step over to the Bank for a few minutes to see that everything is arranged properly. Consequently after a short time I came over here and obseved that the money was already received, and the voucher for the signature of the Secretary in course of preparation, to which I lent my assistance in having the name of the party properly written out &c, and whilst this transaction was going on I said to Mr. Forbes, I got you this money, it was I who advised Mrs. Catchick to lend the amount to the Bank, and inquired from him what made him consent to six per cent, to which he replied that he did so on account of the scarcity of cash in the Bank, and further added that he had a large sum to receive from Calcutta, but was unable to get it on account of treasury drafts not being available.

(Signed) J. G. N. POGOSE

Dacca Bank One of the Directors of the Dacca Bank

9th Octr. 1858.

MINUTE BY R. G. CARNEGIE ESQ.

Having carefully considered Kajeh Abdool Gunny's charges against Mr. Forbes and that gentleman's reply to the same.

I am clearly of opinion that some irregularities have taken place, which however appear to me to be as much owing to the lax supervision of the Directors as to any fault on Mr. Forbes' part.

For taking the key of the Treasure chest from the Khajanchee on the occasions mentioned he is entitled to the approval if not to the thanks of the Directors. He is blamed for having retained it ever since the sepoys were disarmed in November 1857. In this he is wrong; but are the Directors who allowd him without remonstrance to keep it for

nearly eleven months altogether blameless? The Secretary on the first occasion returned the key to the Khajanchee on being desired to do so by me at the instance of Kajeh Abdool Gunny, but no such wish appears to have been expressed on the second occasion. That the especial reasons given by the Secretary for borrowing money from Mrs. Catchick and Kishenath Roy @ 6 per cent, without the formal sanction of the Directors are very strong, and although they are not altogether satisfactory, as the necessary sanction could have been obtained without much delay, still when taken in connection with the fact of Mr. Pogose having been present at the Bank when the money from Mrs. Catchick was being received, and assisted in preparing the documents to complete the transaction, and thereby shown his approval of the same, this matter does not appear to me to be the serious offence Kajeh Abdool Gunny wishes us to consider it.

The above is the sum and substance of Mr. Forbes' delinquencies, and if a Secretary, after six years good service, as the present prosperous state of the Bank sufficiently proves, is to be summarily dismissed on such frivolous grounds, any respectable or independent gentleman will be deterred from accepting such an appointment, and it will tend in consequence to injure the character and credit of the Bank.

As the majority have, however, so willed it, I can only record my unqualified dissent to his dismissal, and my de regret that the Dacca Bank should be deprived of Mr. Forbes' valuable services.

11th October 1858 R. G. CARNEGIE
Director of the Dacca Bank.

16.10.1857

যোগাযোগ

[উনিশ শতকের পূর্ববঙ্গের জনজীবন, অর্থনীতি সবকিছুকে প্রভাবিত করেছিলো যাতায়াত ব্যবস্থা। আধুনিক যুগে বা এখন আমরা যাতায়ত মাধ্যম বা ব্যবস্থা বলতে যা বুঝি তার কোন বালাই ছিলনা উনিশ শতকের পূর্ববঙ্গে।

প্রথমেই দেখা যাক, এক গ্রাম থেকে আরেক গ্রামে যোগাযোগের অবস্থা ছিল কেমন ? "নদী থেকে গ্রাম পর্যন্ত কোন বাঁধা সড়ক নেই, কেবল মাঠ। দুই জমির মধ্যে যে আঁকাবাঁকা আল থাকে, তার উপর দিয়ে হেঁটে যাওয়া ছাড়া উপায় ছিল না। এই পথে গরুর গাড়ী যেতে পারতো না। বর্ষাকালে সমস্ত অঞ্চলটাই জলে ডুবে যেত। জলের মধ্যে কেবল মাঝে মাঝে কয়েকটি বাড়ী মাথা তুলে থাকত।" ফরিদপুরের নিজ গ্রামের যোগাযোগ ব্যবস্থার বর্ণনা দিয়েছেন রমেশচন্দ্র মজুমদার এভাবে। শুধু তাই নয়, তিনি আরো উল্লেখ করেছেন যে, ছেলেবেলায় তিনি গরুর গাড়ী দেখেন কি।[১]

শহরগুলির কথা ধরা যাক এবার। ১৮১০ স্যালে যশোর শহরে ছিল মাত্র দু'টি গরুর গাড়ী।[২] ১৮৪০ সাল পর্যন্ত ঢাকা জেলার গ্রামাঞ্চলের লোকজন চাকাঅলা গাড়ী দেখেনি।[৩] উনিশ শতকের সত্তরের দশকেও ঢাকায় বাহন হিসেবে ব্যবহৃত হতো হাতী।[৪] ষাটের দশকে ঢাকায় চালু করা হয়েছিলো ঘোড়ার গাড়ী। ঐ একই সময় সিলেট শহরে ছিল মাত্র দু'খানা ঘোড়ার গাড়ী।[৫]

রাস্তাঘাট যেগুলি ছিল সেগুলি না থাকারই মতো। উনিশ শতকের গোড়ার দিকে সম্পূর্ণ যশোরে ছিল মাত্র বিশ মাইল রাস্তা।[৬] পূর্ববঙ্গের প্রধান শহর ঢাকায় ১৮৬৯ সালে ঝামা বিছানো প্রধান রাস্তা ছিল চারটি এবং তার সম্মিলিত দৈর্ঘ্য ছিল কয়েকমাইল।[৭] ১৮৯২ সালে সরকারী উপাত্ত অনুযায়ী, চট্টগ্রাম, ঢাকা ও রাজশাহী বিভাগে পাকা [মেটালড্] রাস্তার দৈর্ঘ্য ছিল, যথাক্রমে, ১০, ১৭০ ও ২৪০ বা মোট ৩৮৫ মাইল। এবং কাঁচা [আনমেটালড্] রাস্তার দৈর্ঘ্য ছিল যথাক্রমে ১৩১১, ৮৮৭ এবং ৪৬৪৩ মাইল বা মোট ৬৮৪১ মাইল।[৮] এক কথায় বলা যেতে পারে, উনিশ শতকের মধ্যভাগ পর্যন্ত এ অঞ্চলে রেলওয়ে ছিল না। রাস্তাঘাটের দের্ঘ্য ছিল খুবই সামান্য, যানবাহনের সংখ্যা ছিল হাতে গোনা। যোগাযোগ ব্যবস্থার অভাব ও বিচ্ছিন্নতার কারণে প্রতিটি অঞ্চল ছিল একেকটি নির্জন নিঃসঙ্গ দ্বীপের মত- স্থবির, আত্মমগ্ন।

পূর্ববঙ্গ বা বাংলাদেশের বিচ্ছিন্ন এই অঞ্চলের যোগাযোগের প্রধান মাধ্যম ছিল জলপথ। উনিশ শতকে, বিশেষ করে শেষার্ধে, ঔপনিবেশিক সরকার স্বার্থগত কারণেই মনযোগ দিয়েছিলো যোগাযোগ ব্যবস্থা উন্নয়নের দিকে। গত শতকের শেষের দিকে রেলপথ বা স্টিমার সার্ভিস গড়ে উঠেছিলো প্রধানত কলকাতা বা ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের স্বার্থ মেটাতে কারণ পূর্ববঙ্গ তখন পরিণত হয়েছিলো কাঁচামালের আড়ত হিসেবে। তবে, রেলওয়ে বা স্টিমার সার্ভিসই ছিল পূর্ববঙ্গের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলের মধ্যে যোগাযোগ স্থাপনের প্রথম প্রচেষ্টা।[৯] সংকলিত সংবাদগুলিতে তাই দেখি স্টিমার ও রেলওয়ে ব্যবস্থার ওপরই গুরুত্ব আরোপ করা হয়েছে।]

তথ্যপঞ্জি

১. রমেশচন্দ্র মজুমদার, *জীবনের স্মৃতিদীপে*, কলকাতা ১৯৭৮, পৃ. ১০। এ প্রসঙ্গে উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে কৃষ্ণকুমার মিত্রের কথা। উনিশ শতকের মধ্য ভাগের ময়মনসিংহের গ্রামাঞ্চলের বর্ণনা দিতে গিয়ে তিনি লিখেছেন, ঐ সময় ঘোড়ার যাতায়াত কথাটা বেশ প্রচলিত ছিল। এবং গরুর গাড়ী তিনিও তখন দেখেন নি। কৃষ্ণকুমার মিত্র, *আত্মচরিত*, কলকাতা, ১৩৮১, পৃ. ৬।

২. C.A. Bentley. *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1925, p.27.

৩. James Taylor. *A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca*, Calcutta 1840. p. 119.

৪ From Col. B. E. Beacon, Deputy Secretary to the Govt. to India Military Dept. to the Secretary of the Govt. ot Bengal. Judicial Dept. No 1316 dt. 31.6.1871. *Poceedings of Lt Governor of Bengal*, Judicial Dept Feb. 1871.

৫. বিপিনচন্দ্র পাল, *সত্তর বছর*, কলকাতা, ১৩৬২, পৃ. ৯০।

৬. বেন্টলি, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ২৭।

৭. *Proceedings ot the Lt. Governor of Bengal*, Judicial Dept May, 1869.

৮. F.H.B. Skrine, *Memorandum on the Material Condition ot the Lower Orders in Bengal during the ten years from 1881-82 to 1891-92*, Calcutta. 1892.

৯. স্ক্রাইন তাঁর উপর্যুক্ত রিপোর্টে এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে উল্লেখ করেছিলেন, "The development of steam navigation in our rivers is one ot the most intersting features ot the report. It has brought within the influences of civilization huge tarct. which 10 or 15 years back are almost isolated" *Ibid.* p. 3.

সংকলন

STEAM TO DACCA

We have long cried for Steam to Dacca. There is scarcely a man in Dacca. who has not uttered a suppressed anathema when he has heard that there is to be no steamer this month repeated month after month lately. We always got one before, except when Mr Halliday or the Commander in chief, or Dr Mouat, or Mr Gordon Young, took it into their heads to go somewhere to do nothing, when our Dacca Steamer was always taken for the purpose. As for the ladies—we are not a married man—but we believe the poutings and frownings and tossings of the head and in extreme cases tears and hysterics to which the unhappy husband is subjected, when "no steamer" is announced, are such as to cause the husband's bearer to lead by no mens a happy life; and thus "no steamer" fills Dacca with curses and wailing and crying which is a very improstate of things— Well, if we wish to put a stop to this let us have a Steamer of our own, which shall be subject to no freaks of Commanders-in-Chief or others, whether Inspectors of Education or of jails. The opportunity is now afforded to us, as will be seen from the Prospectus published beneath. It will be seen that the Company is to be a Limited Liability one so that no one can lose more than the value of his shares, and surely there is no husband who would refuse to risk a thousand or fifteen hundred rupees, for the chance of securing perpetual peace in his household; while those who are men of money, and have been having their five per cents reduced to fours, and losing from 20 or 30 per cent of their capitals by the freaks of our amateur financiers, will doubtless think that the promised 28 per cent, even if that 28 should tumble down to only 12, is better than Government fives.

We are told that if 100 shares are taken in Dacca,and the districts interested in the experiment, the remainder can be easily raised in Calcutta. The management is at present proposed to be with Captain Fryer, for many years commander of the *Secortris* steamer, who knows the country well, and has had great steaming experience. He will himself become a shareholder to a considerable amount and will, if thought advisable by the committee of management go home to select or build suitable boats. Our space will not permit us to say more, but as we have every confidence in the gentleman who has sent us the prospectus, we conclude by recommending the scheme to the careful consideration of every capitalist in Dacca. We may be assured that now the attention of England is turned to this country, this profitable line will not long remain unoccupied, and we may see others reaping those profits which an earlier appreciation of the value of the line would have enabled us to secure for ourselves. Only one steamer is at present estimated for but this is a good sign. It is a sign that th^ scheme is in tended to be carried out. If is not attempted to raise a bubble company for the profit of a few unscrupulous speculatios. If such had

been the case, not less than eight or ten steamers would have been estimated for. But the promoters of this scheme do not intend to put their arm farther than they can draw is back. With this short introduction we leave the prospectus to speak for it itself.

Prospectus for establishing a regular steam communication, between Calcutta and Dacca via Burrisaul.

1st. It is proposed that a company be formed to be called the "Inland Eastern Steam Navigation Company."

2nd. That capital of 1,60,00 Rupees be raised under limited liability, to be desided into 320 shares of rupees 500 each.

3rd. It is estimated that a steemer of 100 horses power with a Cargo Boat of 400 Tons will cost 1,50,000 rupees.

4th. It has been ascertained that a very large quantity of Country produce is monthly exported from Dacca to Calcutta, and that such Exports are daily inereasing, but the only available means of Transport is through the medium, of Native boats, unsafe, uncertain, and slow in the extreme, the hire of which has become double within the past 18 months thereby shewing the increased demand for and scarcity of Tonnage.

5th. The exports from Calcutta, to Dacca are at present incosiderable, but with a certain communication once established a Steamer like a Railway will draw traffic to its line and every reasonble expectation may be entertained of a large, and speedy increase of exports from the Capital, to Dacca.

6th. A very large traffic is also carried on between Dacca and Chittagong in Native Vessels, and Country boats.

7th. It has been positively intimated that as soon as a Steamer and Cargo Vessel are put on the line,the whole of the available tonnage will be at once sought after.

8th. It now remains to set down the expenses of running the above Vessels the entire outlay and the probable income, which will be as follows.

	Rs.	
To The Commander, Officer, Engineers and crew of Steamer for a month	1025	
Do Mate in charge and Crew of Cargo Vessel for a month	420	
Do One month's Provisions for 53 Natives at 2 Rupees each	106	
Do Vessel's stores per mensem	200	
Do Depreciation on Capital of Rs 1,60,000 at 6 per cent per annum.	800	
Do Agencies & c.	500	
Expenses per mensem exclusive of Fuel	3052	
	12	
Do do annum „ „ Rs	36624	

To 12 days fuel at 200 maunds per diem at 8 annas per maund for 12 days	1200	„
To Tallow, Oil & c at Rs 20 per Trip of 12 days	20	„
Total for one month Rs.	1220	„
	12	„
Do do one year Rs	14040	„
Disbursement of establishmant & c for one year	36624	„
Total expenses for one year Rupees.	51264	„
Probable amount of Freight &c		
By 50 Tons of Cargo from Calcutta to Dacca at 30 Rs per Ton.	1500	„
Do 400 do do do Dacca to Calcutta at 15 Rs per Ton	6000	„
Do Passengers deck, and cabin up and down.	500	„
For one Trip Rupees.	8000	„
	12	„
Do for one year at 12 Trips	96000	„
Total Expenses for year	51624	„
Balance on one year's earnings	44,376	„

44,376 on an Outlay of 1,60,000 equal to 28 per cent nearly.

N. B. If it should be found advisable to make more than one Trip each month. or 12 Trips per Annum of course the income would be much greater and the Profits on a corresponding ratio.

The Government allows 5 percent depreciation on Capital. Here 6 per cent has been allowed.

(sd.) ALFRED FRYER
21.11.1857

সংবাদপত্র

[উনিশ শতকের সংবাদপত্রগুলি ছিল প্রধানত রচনা ভিত্তিক, অর্থাৎ ছোটখাট সংবাদ ছাড়া প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই যে কোন একটি সংবাদ বা বিষয়কে নিয়ে বিস্তারিত আলোচনা, মতামত ছাপা হতো। খবরের মধ্যে স্থানীয় খবর থাকতো কিছু আর থাকতো বিদেশী কাগজ থেকে সংগৃহীত খবর। মাঝে মাঝে ছাপা হতো মফস্বল থেকে পত্রিকার ভক্ত প্রেরিত সংবাদ। ছিল চিঠিপত্রের কলামও। তবে, বিষয় ভিত্তিক রচনা বা কোন ঘটনাকে কেন্দ্র করেই সম্পাদক নিজস্ব মতামত তুলে ধরতেন।

প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই সম্পাদকের নিজস্ব মতামত থাকতো। তবে, পূর্ববঙ্গের বাংলা পত্রিকা গুলিরও প্রধান সম্পাদকীয় থিম ছিল জমিদার রায়ত এবং সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্পর্ক, সমাজ সংস্কার, ইংরেজ আচরণ ও দেশীয়দের প্রতিক্রিয়া, সিভিল সার্ভিস ও প্রশাসন। সম্প্রদায় বা দল, গোষ্ঠিগত কারণে সম্পাদকরা বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে বিভিন্ন রকম গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছিলেন কারণ, সমাজ বা রাজনীতি সম্পর্ক ব্রাহ্মণ, হিন্দু বা মুসলমানের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি ছিল ভিন্ন। কিন্তু অন্তর্গত মিলও ছিল কিছু এবং সেগুলি হলো ঔপনিবেশিক আমলে পূর্ববঙ্গের বুদ্ধিজীবীদের চরিত্র। [দ্রষ্টব্য : প্রথম খন্ড]

পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে উল্লেখযোগ্য ইংরেজি পত্রিকা বেরিয়েছে সে সময় মাত্র দু'টি- 'ঢাকা নিউজ' ও 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস'। 'ঢাকা নিউজ' আগেই উল্লেখ করেছি নীলকরদের মুখপত্র বিধায় নীলচাষের পক্ষে ছিল। 'নেটিভদের' প্রতি বিদ্বেষও পোষণ করতো। ইংরেজ প্রশাসকের সঙ্গে সামান্যতম স্বার্থ সংঘাত দেখা দিলেই ব্যক্তি, প্রশাসক বা প্রশাসন সমালোচনার সম্মুখীন হতো। মিশনারীরা যেহেতু অনেক ক্ষেত্রে ছিল নীলকরদের অত্যাচারের বিপক্ষে সে কারণে, মিশনারীরাও সমালোচিত হতো। 'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর সংকলিত বিভিন্ন সংবাদ এর উদাহরণ।

'ঢাকা নিউজ'-এর সংবাদপত্র সংক্রান্ত নিবন্ধ খুব বেশি ছাপা হয় নি। এখানে তাই কয়েকটি নিবন্ধ মাত্র উদাহরণ হিসেবে ছাপা হলো]।

সংকলন

THE DACCA NEWS

It is fear and trembling that we make this our first appearance on any stage: fear, not that our articles will be so witty, so withering, or so sarcastic (we are in opposition of course) as to lash into fury the lion Couchant of the East India Company and cause us to be deported, or, as the more modern style of punishment is to have a Mochulka taken from us; but lest we should fail in gaining the approbation of those whose approbation is worth having.

We have what have being considered peculiar views on several subjects. Though not exactly disciples of Dr. Cumming's, we believe that the day of India's progress has dawned,and that she is commencing to throw off the maction in which she has so long remained. Looking to the workings of the native mind, both Hindoo and Mahommedan we believe that this progress is a moral one as well as physical. It will be our aim to assist this movement as much as in our power.

We are presumptuous enough to differ from most of our friends,and even from such men as Mackintosh. Macaulay and Dr. Chevers, in thinking that the native has not a different mental constitution from the Englishman: that under as favorable circumstances, he will be as truthful,as generous, and as brave, as the Briton: and when we think of what the Highlander and the Irishman were even in our own day, we cannot think we are much in the wrong.

Another of our strange notion is, that Indigo Planters are not robbers, adulterers, and oppressors; but very enterprising, hard working, honest men —but if we go on exposing all our weaknesses, we are afraid we shall be considered more worthy of a cell in a lunatic asylum, than a place among the brethern of the Fourth Estate.

We shall earn our prologue by stating that we intend to be peculiarly a Moffussil Journal. We shall occupy ourselves chiefly with the matters of our own Little Pedlington, Dacca; and with matters relating to the inhabitants of the Moffussil, the zemindar, the ryot, and the Planter. We have no time to bestow upon the afflairs of Europe. We must leave them to our larger brethren: who we trust, will look kindly upon the weakest and latest born of the family

Finally, we bespeak the forbearance of all, in consideration of the many difficulties under which we labour; one of not the least of which is, that in addition to our editorial duties we shall have to be for some time our own devil.

26 4.185৫

THE NATIVE PRESS

There ought really to be a censorship of the Bengalee press: not that we would object to the most free discussion of any of the acts of

Government, but that the thinking and educated portion of the community and the English Press, might know and be able to reply to in the same language in which they are published, the follies which, by going uncontradicted are apt to work such mischief in the minds of an uneducated people. For this end we would propose that the duties of the Censor should be, not to have the power of suppressing any article in a native newspaper, but to publish an English translation of any articles which might be in any way remarkable and to give the Bengalees, in Bengalee, a digest of the remarks made upon such articles by the European papers. He ought to be a Government servant, and the paper published by him in English and Bengalee ought to be a Government publication, so as to command the attention of the superior English Journals, and to induce them to take notice of and contradict the extraordinary notions which he would often have to publish, while giving an idea of the articles issued from the Bengalee Press.— We give below an article from a religious Bengalee Newspaper, ridiculous in the extreme, yet calculated to be highly injurious in the present state of things. We do not think our translator has done justice to it, for in Bengalee it sounds much more alarming than he has made it to sound in English. Perhaps it is that the English language is not capable of expressing so much alarm as the Bengalee, but the tone of the whole article is to teach the Baboos to tackle to their own Durwans, if they hope to be allowed to retain possession of their riches. We need scarcely point out that a truckling to one's own servants in a time of trouble is just pointing out to them that they have only to come and take one's goods. The tone to assume is that of being able to keep one's goods by one's own strength. There is no trusting in the faithfulness or gratitude of man, as has been convincingly shown by the late mutinies. Faithfulness and Gratitude are qualities known only to the virtuous. One who knows human nature knows how little virtue there is to be found in the world. The Hindoo Rutna Kumolkor[৪১] the paper from which we take the following article, in his hostility against Christianity quotes a text from the Bible to prove, that the Christian has not the right of self defence. That a Christian has that right is evident from the account of Pater's striking off the ear of the High priest's servant, and not being rebuked by our Lord, who had already determined to give himself up, but who merely told him to put his sword into it's sheath, "the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"— We would call attention to the culpable misrepresentation of facts contained in the following article.

It is the duty of all subjects, that at the time of any mutiny, they should support the state and should even sacrifice their lives for the benefit of it. The Hindoo Converts have called a meeting at the Free church Institution, and passed a resolution to the effect that they will take up arms on behalf of the British rule. The Sepoys have startled the Government. If the converts can now overpower their enemies, they will aquire glory. But since they have become

Christians, why have they sworn to kill living creatures in battle. To see bloody deeds done is forbidden by their Scriptures; especially as their Son of God has taught his disciples. "If any man give you a slap on one check, then turn the other towards him; let him beat you as much as he can but yet dont beat him." Have the converts forgotten this teaching their great man. By clamouring for religion, they have abandoned their own for a foreign creed. They have repudiated that great tenet, that a man should be as he is bid by his father and mother. Being religious as they are, why do they choose to be bloody faced. Is not fighting the duty of cannibal giants? What will their teachers say to them.? Do padres go to fight? Christ has benefited the world by his own blood but his disciples have prepared to drink blood. Is consonant of the Bible, or does the Bible teach the real religion? Are native christians prepared to answer this article of ours. We shall be glad if a satisfactory answer is given.

The christians in the first place ought to have considered the reasons for which the Sepoys have mutinied. The Christians have not gone that way; but though they are born of Hindoo families, they are yet ready to drink the blood of Hindoos. The Sepoys have mutinied for three reasons. 1st Hindoo widow marriage 2nd That which has never happened during the time of any Rajah has become a legislative fact with the British Government. It has been curiously enough made a law by the British Government that sons, notwithstanding they leave the religtion of their fathers should be entitled to inherit their property. 3rd Biting of the cartridges, by which the Sepoys lose their caste. Still have Government insisted upon this upon this being done. The Sepoys refused to do so and were disbanded. Are not these three reason sufficient enough to irritate them. They got angry and took Delhi. Agra and Cawnpore have ceased to be, and it is uncertain when Benares, Mirzapore and other stations are to be plundered. Allyghur is taken. They have plundered 30 Lacs of rupees from the Collectorate at Sultanpore where a Zillah was established for the Government of Oude, and taken that city and cut down the white men and women whom they could find. The Sepoys, having heard that the Pataleah and Sindia Rajas will assist the British Government with their forces, have determined to take their dominions from them by violence.

As the Government have sought for help from their subjects by issuing proclamations, the Sepoys have by the clapping of their hands, communicated their cries of madness from one body of them to another; so that the Rajahs and wealthy men within the British dominions should, if they wish for their safety, join them and increase their new prosperity: for they will not spare Englishmen or their partisans.

Government have not kept stores of arms or ammunition under the care of Sepoys in Calcutta, or Dumdum and have filled the Fort with European Soldiers. The Sepoys says that they will kill the European Soldiers by a mere puff of wind from their mouths. The Sepoys at Mirzapore, Dinapore, Ferozepore, Lahore, Mooltan, Sind,

Hydrabad, Delhi, Meerut, Cownpore &c. have raised a cry that the British rule is at an end. At a meeting of the wealthy inhabitants of Calcutta, it has been resolved that they shall assist the British Government, on which account their Durwans are irritated against them, they should therefore take care. It is rumoured that their money will be plundered. We have written just as we learn from rumours. We cannot certainly say whether they are true or not. But in all places these untoward events are taking place, in which their enemies only shall die. We pray blessings may attend the Government.

Since the above was written we have learned that the DOORBEEN,[৪২] an Oordoo paper, has been publishing the proclamations of the rebels. The writers of the article quoted above, and the editor of the DOORBEEN, are both clearly guilty under the new act. We shall wait to see what punishment is inflicted upon them; but, as self preservation is the first law of nature' we would vote for the suppression of all seditious publications in the native languages, including Mr. Cecil Beadon's proclamations.

20.6.1857

RESTRICTION OF THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The weakest acts of our Government since the outbreak of the mutiny have been those connected with the invention of printing. At the time when they ought to have shown — however little they might be in their own minds assured that they were able to compel obedience— that they were determined to be obeyed, they employed the the printing press in circulation through the land, marked "Urgent", packets of a proclamation, intimating to everyone both native and European the extent of their fears. This proclamation circulated by the magistrates of every district, assuring every one that the Government had no intention of meddling with their caste or religion, was the first intimation that most of their subjects had that any one ever suspected the Government of doing so. Of course the proclamation was disbelieved, for "quit' excuse s'accuse,"— Then came Mr. Colvin's famous proclamation of pardon to the murderers of European women and children: and now comes, in consequence of a seditious publication by the DOORBEEN, a native paper, of the manifesto of the Delhi rebels, an Act passed by the Legislative Council in the presence of the Governor General himself, prohibiting the liberty of the Press both native and European for the space of one year. We have nothing before us but the ENGLISHMAN of the 15th Instant in which is given an abstract of the Act, but from it we learn that an "Imprint"(which we suppose means "Imprimature") is required for each publication under penalty of a fine of a thousand rupees or six months' imprisonment. Sooner than submit to such a condition we shall stop our paper— well our type and press for the value of old lead and iron which they may fetch— and most seriously think of leaving the country.— What was it we should like to know

that saved the army in the Crimea but William Russel's letters to the TIMES? Did not the authorities in that emergency, when it was thought that all our weakness was betrayed to the enemy by their publication, wish to suppress those letters as traitorous; but was it not those very letters which prevented the event which PUNCH prognosticated, that Lord Raglan and his staff would land one morning at Southampton and inform the Government that they alone were the gallant army that had left England a few months before.— Before we hand received intimation of the new Act. we had written an article which will be found below, advocating the establishment of a mild censorship over the native press— a censorship that ought always from the commencement of a native press to have been exercised,— a censorship which would not have been empowered to use any obnoxious authority in suppressing articles that might be thought or which really were seditious, but which would have proved the folly of the principle upon which that sedition was advocated, and by so doing have introduced more correct modes of thinking among the natives. But this Act instead of suppressing merely the counsel of fools to fools, deprives the Government of the advice of wise men to those of our Governors who certainly do not know the country, or feelings of the Governed, so well as they do.

But far worse than this will be the effect of the Law we are considering, when applied to European papers. The Government can now depend upon the hearty cooperation and support of all Europeans scattered over the Mofussil. There are men among them of great influence— men who, though they may never have seen the face of a Governor General, nor enjoyed the smiles of Government House, are yet able to keep a district in order, and would do so, and are now doing so, in a crisis like the present. But these men, far from any support but that of their own strong wills, and their consciousness of upright and fair dealing with the natives, which alone has given the one man power over the thousands, are aware that they cannot act without information of what is done by their rulers, and of the opinions of their fellow countrymen. For information concerning those proceedings and those opinions, they have for long years trusted to the ENGLISHMAN. But from the moment that they know that each issue of the ENGLISHMAN has to receive the "imprimatur" of Cecil Beadon, from that moment they will become paralysed. The news may— nay if we may judge by the gentleman's antecedents— will be "cooked."— those who wish to see two sides of a question and for that purpose take in the ENGLISHMAN and the HURKARU, will find them both "Cecil Beadonised." Who can act upon such information? Mr. Beadon may think it proper to suppress the information of an insurrection behind us. We ourselves may hear of one in front, but may be afraid to proceed to afford our neighbor support, for fear of the possible insurrection behind of which our paper gives us no intimation, and which may possibly not exist, but the existence of which we shall

always suspect, because we can no longer trust our paper. How long will it be before we can convince our rulers that truth is great and will prevail; that the suppression of truth, though for a moment it may seem to succeed, will in the end work ruin to the suppressors. Rather than not speak the truth we shall not speak at all. We have never spoken anything but what was for the true glory of England and the advancement of this country We defy any man to point out an unpatriotic sentence in our writings. We know none of the English papers which have been unpatriotic except the HURKARU which at one time espoused the cause of the Black Acts. We do not see why the English papers should not have been excepted from the operation of this Act, as British subjects were from summary hanging the other day which was thought necessary for the Natives.

20.6.1857

THE DACCA NEWS.

SUBSCRIPTION MUST BE IN ADVANCE.

Per Annum ---------- Rs. 6. 8.
Half Yearly------------ "3. 4.
Quarterly----------------- " 1. 12
Single copy ------------ "2.
ADVERTISEMENTS.-- Per line 2 annas.

MESSRS THACKER SPINK & CO AND BABOOS KISSACNMUNGLE MANICKCHAND BYSACK of Burra Bazaar, Calcutta, will receive Subscriptians. All communications should be addressed to the Editor of the DACCA NEWS, Dacca. All Drafts should be made payable in A. FORBES Dacca ESQ. Drafts on the General Treasury, Fort William received as cash.

N. B. Parties sending advertisements are particularly requested to state how often they wish them inserted.

TO OUR TOWN SUBSCRIBERS.

Parties who wish to send their own servants for the DACCA NEWS on the morning of publicatiion are requested to send their names for registration at the Office. Those who are not registered must wait till the delivery peon goes round. The paper will not be given to persons sendiing for it unless registered. The delivery peon will not call on those who have registered.

12.12.1857

[To Subscribers]

We have the pleasure to announce that Messrs Thaker Spink and Co. have kindly undertaken to register subscribers names and to receive subscription to the DACCA NEWS. We take this opportunity to remind our friends, that subscriptions must be paid in advance. In consequence of our subscription list increasing so rapidly as it has lately done, and rendering us doubtful whether we can supply all who wish for the paper, we have determined to discontinue sending it to

those who may not, within a resonable time after this notice, pay up their subscription with all arrears .

21.2.1857

[Request]

WE HAVE to request that no one will purchase copies of the DACCA NEWS from the delivering peon, who has strict orders not to sell. He has hitherto been doing so to his own profit, but has not paid the moneyto us. Copies of the paper are always procurable at the office. We beg to warn the public that we intend to prosecute both the peon and the purchaser should we hear of any cases of sale on his part, the one as making away with property entrusted to him for a specific purpose and the other as being his *partner* in the crime.

16.10.1858

FAREWELL!

We are glad- very glad in our private capacity, and sorry very sorry as the "We" of the DACCA NEWS to announce that we are going HOME. We have for sometime felt, as our countrymen banished for the "forty five" did before us, that.

It's home, home, home
And its home that I would be,
Home home, home
In my ain countrie.

Sixteen years of cheerless exile, of toil and fighting, have realised in us in longing for at least one year of rest and peace; of meeting with those who love us, instead of association merely with those who may admire or despise us, that or fear us, or, worst of all, be indifferent as to whether we exist or not. Our life in India has been a lonely one. Delicate health has prevented our aspiring even to the sociality with other men, to be attained by the "jolly good fellow," Grave disadanntages have kept us from the vanity of imagining that we could ever become a favorite with the other sex, not that we have not made the attempt, which, however, was marked by signal failure. As active and generally cheerful temperament has hitherto supported us, but we confess now, as an individual" We" to have given in, and to being overpowered by a desire for love, and that we can get nowhere but "at home" For this reason we are glad that we are, going home. A year of home will set us up again.

But as a public "We " as the DACCA NEWS "We" we are sorry that we have to go we have made many friends and received much encouragement, since we commenced our paper, from both Europeans and natives. If we can count those who have ceased to take our paper, whether on account of leaving the country or from any other causes, scarcely by .. we can count our new subscribers by hundreds. We have experienced much generosity of feeling.There is scarcely one of our constituents who does not differ with us diametrically as far at least as they have expressed their opinions on some one point or other, but still they continue to support us, and agree with us in all our opinions except those particular ones in

which they disagree with us. from this we are led to hope that our sentiments are generally, correct. For if all men agree to consider us generally right, except in one or two points, and all men disagree us to which these one or two points are, we think that we have attained as nearly to an expression of the real truth and the real right as a common finite editor can do. We must say that we have reason to be content with our subscribers, without even exception the gentleman who bought forward the high price of rice as a reason for his ceasing to take in the paper. It was a reason which could in no way offend our vanity, and this is the only offence, which, we believe, is editorially or humanly speaking generally, unpardonable.

We have made many friends. We have friends whom we know only through the Army list. We have friends who are Civilians, but whom we never saw. We have Naval friends who do not know even the latitude and longitude of our office. We are sorry to part with these men. Editorially speaking, we are very sorry that we are to have no more connection with them.

But yet we must say that we are glad to have a cessation from the hard, hard work. In an out-of-the -way, if not the most out of the wayest corner of the world, we established a press. we had not a single compositor, or printer, or devil. We have had to educate them all. We set up, in type, a great part of our first numbers with our own hands. We have been, down to the present day, our own chief correetor of proofs, we issued the paper without puff or flourish. We spent no money in advertising. It was issued at a cost that hardly paid for ink and paper. We had other and onerous duties to perform during the day. Only our few spare hours of morning and evening, and late at night, could, be given to it. But yet the paper has grown in stature, and we hope in wisdom. It has increased wonderfully in circulation, and never so fast as latterly. If we had started from our present point, the paper would have been a good commercial speculation, and will we hope turn out to be so to those who have purchased it. To ourselves, however, it has proved a loss of upwards of two thousand rupees, leaving out of our calculations interest of money and the value of our own labor. We comfort ourselves in this way:- if we had not taken to printing, we should have certainly become a photographer; and the money would have gone in that way, besides which our evenings would not have been occupied, and we should have gone out to dinner, and had headaches in the morning, and have otherwise ruined our health; so that on the whole, we may consider our loss a gain.

Besides this, we know that we have done some good by the publication of our price currents which we hope will continue to be a disthingushing feature of the paper, and to be as fair and correct as, thanks to those who have taken the trouble to console them for us and to furnish them with such praiseworthy regularity, they have hitherto been. We have also, we believe, done a little good by giving information about Eastern Bengal, so that it is no longer quite the terra in cognita it once was. We hope that the correspondents who have commenced to write on the affairs of Assam, will continue to

send their communications to the DACCA NEWS and thus reveal the riches and the wants of that fertile but much neglected province, and secure to it a branch of that stream of Europe and enterprise and capital which is sure to flow, year afer year, more rapidly to India. We have had it in our power sometimes to benefit and give pleasure to individuals. We have also had to remark severely upon the public conduct and acts of other, who have, in some cases, personally resented our having done so. and tried to visit on us as individual the sins comitted by the editor. We cannot say that, we are sorry that we have offended any, for we can conscientiously affirm that we never allowed private feelings to influence us in our attacks upon the public acts of public men; and where these were faulty, we should have been wanting in our duty had we failed to bring them before the only bar where they can be fairly tried, that of Public Opinion. We cannot be sorry that we have done our duty, and therefore we cannot say that we are so. Had we been the inveterate enemy of the individuals composing the Civil Service which it pleases the INDIAN FIELD and writer of the story to represent as to be, we should have found many more instances in which we could have called the conduct of some among them in question, and several gentlemen must acknowledge that we have spared them when they were in our power. We always tried to spare when no public intersts were injured by our doing so. In a small place like this it had been impossible to preserve the inognito of an editor, and the leading Civilian thought it proper to excommunicate ourselves personally from their society. We leave them to say which party has been the loser by this proceeding: ourselves, with whom all men also, with the exception of these five or six continued to correspond and associate even those of their own oligarchy of the service; or themselves, whose conduct on the occasion was by most men considered petty and ridiculous, and who, being Judges and Magistrates laid themselves open to that suspicion, among the natives at least, which should never be breathed against the character of men holding the high office of distributors of judgment, that there was one man at least in the district, who would not, and could not get justice from them. But we leave this disagreeable subject from with the remark that as from the first we pitied them , we have long since forgiven them - One object in our conduct, of the acknowledgment by all men bearing the name of Christian, in this country, whether Governor Gereral or tradesman, Civilian or planter, of our Christianity; not only because we believe in Christianity as a true religion, but because we think that this is the only true policy, the only open and manly course, the only course which will not excite suspicion and distrust on the part of the natives, and sow the seeds of another rebellion, in which our wily policy with regard to religion will be laid hold of as the great pretext which will influence all men against us. Could a greased cartidge story have set Dr Duffs school in rebellion against him? Would a parent have been frightened by the insidious whisper that it was Dr Duffs subject to make a Christan to his child ? No and why not? Because Dr Duff has always from the beginning professed that it is his object, and the dearest wish of his heart, and the sole end which he and his employers have in sole end which he and his employers have in view, and of all the time and money they have spent and are spending, to make men Christians. The natives know what Dr Duff means by a Christian, and they know how he makes

them. They know that greased -cartridge Christians will not do for him, and therefore they do not fear him. But they fear a Government which has no religion, which persecutes through many long years the Missionaries of the faith they themselves profess to believe. They do not believe in the conscience or good faith of such a government, for conscience and good faith are the results of religious belief, and a government which professes no religious belief can be actuated only by expediency. From such a Government the natives fear, they know not what, and will believe none of its proclamations or protestations. Were it Chiristion, they would have a ground on which they could appeal from the injustice of man to the justice of the Creator in just as in Mahomedan countries one can appeal from the Sultan to the Koran. India cannot be governed by a neutral Government except by physical force. A Government without a conscience which can be appealed to, can never secure the confidence or respect of its subjects.- We cannot say that we have in this paper done much for Christianity, but we hope that the course we have begun will be pursued by our successors. We have done one thing, however. we have called forth one some able writers on this subject; a letter from one of whom will be found in another column, and we hope that they will continue to write on in the cause.

We bequeath to our successor the task of keeping the streets and lanes of the town as wide, at least, as they now are. As Secretary to the Municipal Committee we have for the last eight or nine years, I Worked hard and incurred much odium in this task, but in spite of all we could do, many streets have become narrower, none, we are sorry to say, wider. We wish we could persuade our native friend that he who makes a wide street or clears an open maidaun from jungle in Bengal, is a greater benefactor to the human race that he who digs a hundred tanks.

If any of our subscribers thinks he owes us anything for enabling him to spend a pleasant hour, at any time, he will repay us by continuing to subscribe to the DACCA NEWS under its new management, for we should be sorry to think that the light which has hither to a farthing candle, should be extinguished. we have little doubt that after the first difficulties of the start, it will increase in brightness till it is a regular electric light.

And now, we have to say farewell! In Dacca we have spent the very happiest days of our life, and it would be hard to part with the "Decaying City" for ever. We are not, however, called apon to do this; we bid Dacca "good bye" with an "au revoir next cold weather, "But we are afraid that we bid an eternal farewell to our subscribers, for it is not likely that we shall meet them again as editor of the DACCA NEWS. It is sad to part with most of, if not all, the best men in India FAREWELL!

23.10.1858

থিয়েটার

[উনিশ শতকে বাংলা থিয়েটার বলতে আমরা কলকাতা শহরে সীমাবদ্ধ কর্মকান্ডকেই বুঝি। এটা ঠিক যে, থিয়েটার শুরু হয়েছিলো কলকাতাতে, বিকশিতও হয়েছিলো সেখানে। কিন্তু উনিশ শতকের মধ্যভাগে থিয়েটার আর শুধু সীমাবদ্ধ থাকেনি কলকাতাতেই, ছড়িয়ে পড়েছিলো কলকাতার বাইরেও [বাংলাদেশেও]। কিন্তু, তথ্যের স্বল্পতাহেতু সে সম্পর্কে আমরা কিছুই জানি না।

পূর্ববঙ্গ বা বাংলদেশে থিয়েটারে যাত্রা কবে থেকে শুরু তা সঠিকভাবে বলা যায় না। বিভিন্ন তথ্যের সাহায্যে অনুমান করে নিতে পারি উনিশ শতকের ষাটের দশকে শুরু হয়েছিলো এর যাত্রা। বাংলাদেশের থিয়েটারের মোটামুটি চারটি ধারা লক্ষ্যণীয়-

১. ইংরেজদের থিয়েটার

২. সৌখিন নাট্য গোষ্ঠীর থিয়েটার

৩. গ্রুপ থিয়েটার এবং

৪. পেশাদারী থিয়েটার।

প্রথমটি ছিল জনজীবন বিছিন্ন। কিন্তু, এ ধারাটিই ছিলো প্রাচীন। অনুমান করে নিতে পারি উনিশ শতকের শেষার্ধে এটি গিয়েছিলো লুপ্ত হয়ে। বাকীগুলি ছিল প্রায় সমসাময়িক এবং অবিচ্ছিন্ন ও জন-জীবন সংলগ্ন। এখানে শুধু প্রথম ধারাটি সম্পর্কেই আলোচনা করবো যার প্রধান ভিত্তি 'ঢাকা নিউজ'।

উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদেশের ছোট শহরগুলিতে মোটামুটি সবার সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়েই ইংরেজ সামরিক ও বেসামরিক কর্মচারীরা বসবাস করতো। তারা যে অঞ্চলটিতে বসবাস করতো সে অঞ্চলটিকে বলা হতো 'স্টেশন' এবং বাকী অংশটুকু শহর। এর একটি সুন্দর সংজ্ঞা দিয়েছিলো তৎকালীন ঢাকার একটি ইংরেজি পত্রিকা— "The station is purely of European origin. It is that section of a town or city which is exclusively given up to European dwellings; the city is the section inhabited by the natives and in which all the principal bazar are located."

'স্টেশন' বা ঢাকার ক্ষেত্রে শহরে বসবাসরত ইংরেজদের বিনোদনের উপায় ছিলো পোলোখেলা, ঘোড়দৌড় বা পিগস্টিকিং যার অর্থ দলবেঁধে বন্য বরাহ শিকার। কিন্তু এগুলি সীমাবদ্ধ ছিলো একেবারে উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারীদের মধ্যে। সাধারণ ইংরেজ সৈন্য বা কর্মচারীদের বিনোদনের তেমন কোন উপায় ছিলো না। এ প্রেক্ষিতে, বাংলাদেশে বসবাসরত ইংরেজরা শুরু করেছিলো থিয়েটার।

ইংরেজদের এ ধরনের প্রচেষ্টার শুরু ১৮৫৭ সালে, ঢাকায় অবস্থানরত নৌসেনাদের উদ্যোগে। ভারত জুড়ে ১৮৫৭ সালে বিদ্রোহের প্রেক্ষিতে, ঢাকায় ইংরেজদের অবস্থান জোরদার করতে জুন মাসে (১৮৫৭) ঢাকায় আনা হয়েছিলো কিছু নৌ সেনা।

একঘেঁয়েমি কাটানোর জন্যে এবং খুব সম্ভবত উত্তেজিত ইংরেজদের স্নায়ু শান্ত করার জন্যে নৌ সেনারা জুলাই মাসে মঞ্চস্থ করেছিলো দু'টি প্রহসন- 'ক্যাওস ইজ কাম এগেন' এবং 'অরিজিনাল'।

প্রহসন দু'টির বিস্তারিত প্রশংসা করার পর ঢাকা থেকে প্রকাশিত তৎকালীন, পূর্ববঙ্গের একমাত্র ইংরেজি পত্রিকা 'ঢাকা নিউজ' লিখেছিলো—

নৌ সেনারা না থাকলে আমরা কি করতে পারতাম ? নৌ-সেনারা আমাদের হয়ে দৃশ্যপট সাজালো, গান গাইলো আমাদের জন্যে, এমনকি বাঁশীতে সঙ্গত করতেও সাহায্য করলো একজন, ব্যারাকেও ছিলো একদল যাদের হাতে ন্যস্ত ছিলো আমাদের ঘরবাড়ির নিরাপত্তা। তারা যখন এসবে ব্যস্ত, তখন আমরা আমাদের প্রতিদিনের উৎকণ্ঠা থেকে মুক্তি পেয়েছিলাম দু'একঘন্টার জন্য।[২]

ঢাকার কোথায় প্রহসন দুটি অভিনীত হয়েছিলো তা জানা যায় নি। তবে এটুকু বলা যায়, শুধু থিয়েটারের জন্য আলাদা করে তখনও 'হল' বা মঞ্চ নির্মাণ করা হয়নি।

১৮৫৮ সালে দেখা যায় যেখানে যেখানে 'স্টেশন' ছিলো সেখানেই মোটামুটি থিয়েটারের জন্য 'হল' তৈরী করা হয়েছিলো। ঐ সময় চট্টগ্রাম, সিলেট ও পাবনায় (কুমারখালী ?) নির্মিত হয়েছিলো 'হল'। এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে আক্ষেপ করে লিখেছিলো 'ঢাকা নিউজ'—

'ঢাকা সব কিছুর কেন্দ্র, থিয়েটার পথপ্রদর্শক হওয়ার কথা তারই। সেতো তা পারেই নি, বরং পাবনা, চট্টগ্রাম, সিলেট এগিয়ে গেছে। অথচ ঢাকায় অবস্থানরত ইংরেজ সেনা বাহিনীতে ভারতের শ্রেষ্ঠ কয়েকজন এ্যামেচার অভিনেতা আছেন।' পত্রিকাটি আরো দুঃখ প্রকাশ করে লিখেছিলো, 'যদি টাকাই হয় এর কারণ তা'হলে চাঁদা তুলে সে অন্তরায় দূর করা যায়। (এবং সবাই তা দেবেও) কারণ, ঢাকায় বিষাদপূর্ণ একঘেঁয়ে আবহাওয়া থেকে মুক্তি পাওয়ার উপায় নাটক ছাড়া আর কি আছে ?'[৩]

অবশ্য ঢাকা আর পিছিয়ে থাকেনি। ১৮৫৮ সালের নভেম্বরে, 'জেন্টলম্যান এ্যামেচার'রা নিজেদের থিয়েটারের উদ্বোধন করেছিলেন।[৪] সিলেট, পাবনা, চট্টগ্রামের থিয়েটারগুলি কিন্তু নির্মিত হয়েছিলো তখন বাংলাদেশে অবস্থানরত নৌ-সেনাদের উদ্যোগে।

পাবনার নাট্যশালাটি ছিলো 'স্টেশনের' সবচেয়ে সুন্দর বিল্ডিং। দাতব্য চিকিৎসালয় স্থাপনের জন্য নীলকর কেনী তা দান করেছিলেন সরকারকে। (এ বিষয়ে তথ্যাদি দিয়ে চিঠিটি লিখেছিলেন কুমারখালী থেকে জনৈক জাঁ এমিলি)। যে ঘরে স্টেজ বসানো হয়েছিলো সে ঘরের চারদিকের দেয়াল সাজানো হয়েছিলো নানা দেশের পতাকা দিয়ে। 'স্টেশনের' এ নাট্যশালার ছিলো একটি বাদক দল। বাদ্যযন্ত্রের মধ্যে ছিলো — একটি বাঁশী, দুটি বেহালা, একটি ট্রামপেট ও একটি ড্রাম। নাট্যমঞ্চটি স্থাপন করতে নাকি খরচ হয়েছিলো দু'শো রুপী এবং তা যোগাড় করা হয়েছিলো চাঁদা তুলে। ১৮৫৮ সালের সেপ্টেম্বর মাসের শেষ সপ্তাহে এখানে অভিনীত হয়েছিলো 'ম্যাকবেথ' এবং জনৈক দর্শকের মতে তা যথেষ্ট উৎরেছিলো।[৫]

সিলেট স্টেশনের নাট্যশালাটি উদ্বোধন করা হয়েছিলো সেপ্টেম্বর ১৮৫৮ সালে। মঞ্চের নাম দেয়া হয়েছিলো— 'হার ম্যাজেস্টিস থিয়েটার' এবং ঠিক হয়েছিলো প্রতি তিন সপ্তাহে একটি নাটক মঞ্চস্থ হবে। প্রথম রজনীতে মঞ্চস্থ হয়েছিল— 'সেন্ট প্যাট্রিকস ডে' এবং 'বোসবাসতো ফিউরিসে'।[৬] অক্টোবরের শেষের দিকে অথবা নভেম্বরের প্রথম সপ্তাহেও (১৮৫৮) এই মঞ্চে আরেটি নাটক মঞ্চস্থ হয়েছিলো বলে জানা যায়।[৭]

১৮৫৮ সালের নভেম্বরে ঢাকার থিয়েটারটি উদ্বোধন করা হয়েছিলো 'লকড ইন উইথ এ লেডী' নামে একটি প্রহসন দিয়ে। প্রহসনের পর গান বাজনা করে আনন্দ দেয়া হয়েছিলো দর্শকদের।[৮]

এর পরের বছরগুলিতে কোন কোন 'স্টেশনে' কি অভিনীত হয়েছিলো বা এ ধারা অবিচ্ছিন্ন ছিলো কিনা সে সম্পর্কে তথ্য জানা যায়নি। তবে অনুমান করে নিতে পারি, এটি পরিণত হয়েছিলো ইংরেজদের বিনোদনের একটি প্রধান মাধ্যম হিসেবে। জনৈক দর্শক একবার লিখেছিলেন, সিলেটের স্টেশনে থিয়েটার দেখতে যাওয়ার জন্যে তাকে অনেক দুর্গম পথ পাড়ি দিতে হয়েছিলো।[৯]

১৮৫৮ সালের পর ইংরেজদের থিয়েটারের আরেকটি সংবাদ পাই ১৮৮৪ সালে। ঢাকায় (৫-১-১৮৮৪) মঞ্চস্থ হয়েছিলো একটি ফার্স। 'পুওর পিলিকোডি' এবং দু' অঙ্কের কমেডী 'মোর প্রেসাস দেন গোল্ড'। মঞ্চের নাম ছিলো 'থিয়েটার রয়াল'। টিকেটের দাম ছিলো আট আনা, একটাকা ও দু'টাকা।[১০] এরপর এ ধরনের নাটক সম্পর্কে আর কোন তথ্য পাইনি।

ইংরেজদের থিয়েটার সীমাবদ্ধ ছিলো নিজেদের মধ্যেই। ১৮৮৪ সালে দাতব্য কারণে যে কমেডী মঞ্চস্থ হয়েছিলো তাও সীমাবদ্ধ ছিলো ইউরোপীয়ানদের মধ্যে। 'নেটিভ'দের থেকে নিজেদের স্বাতন্ত্র্য জাহির করার জন্যেই নেয়া হয়েছিলো এ ব্যবস্থা।

এ ধরনের থিয়েটারগুলি শুরু হতো সাধারণত রাতের খাওয়ার পর, সাড়ে আট থেকে ন'টার মধ্যে। চলতো এগারোটা-বারোটা পর্যন্ত। তবে শুধু নাটকই অভিনীত হতো না, নাটকের আগে পরে সাধারণ বিচিত্রানুষ্ঠানের বন্দোবস্ত থাকতো (যেমন গান বা বাঁশী বাজানো)]।

তথ্যপঞ্জি

১. *The Bengal Times*, 22.6.1878। ঢাকা এবং কলকাতা ছিলো অবশ্য এই সংজ্ঞার বাইরে।
২. *The Dacca News*, 18.7.1857.
৩. *ঐ*, ৪.১০.১৮৫৮।
৪. *ঐ*, ৬.১১.১৮৫৮।
৫. *ঐ*, ২.১০.১৮৫৮।
৬. *ঐ*।
৭. *ঐ*, ৬.১১.১৮৫৮।
৮. *ঐ*।
৯. *ঐ*।
১০. *The Bengal Times*, 2.1.1884.

সংকলন

OUR THEATRE

On the evening of Wednesday last, the Gentlemen Amateures of the Station opened our remarkably pretty little theatre, with the farces of "Chaos is come again," and the "Original."— Where all did so well, we do not know whom to praise. We have none to blame, and no criticisms to make.— We were certainly rather envious of Mr. Jack Bunce, when he, in the last scene, obtained the hand of Harriet, who to say nothing of her $ 20,000, was certainly one of the most lovely and fascinating creatures we have ever seen— a little deficient in crinoline, but a good milliner and Mr. Bunce's taste and superintendence would no doubt soon remedy that. Poor thing— she had just arrived from Calcutta, where perhaps such mysteries are unknown. We rejoiced in Mr. Bunce's good fortune with regard to the money, not on his own account, but on that of the good Tottenham, the landlord, or as he was fond of calling him, Tot, or Totty, to whom he owed fifty four pounds and upwards. Colonel Chaos' rage, when ill treated by his worthless nephew, was magnificent, and the last scene where that nephew bursts into tears and wipes his eyes with his offended uncle's wig which he had snatched off, was affecting in the extreme. We may be peculiar, but that is our opinion— to use a favorite phrase of the good old man. We wish a lovely creature would behave to us in the way in which the charming Harriet does to Jack at the finale, when she informs him that the only way in which he and his uncle can be reoncilled is; by his consenting to immediate marriage with herself, and apparently undoubted and uncontrolled possession of the $ 20,000, for there was not a syllable breathed about settlements.

Jack Nonpareil, the original, will we are sure have little reason to complain that he has "never been heard of" in Dacca. The manner in which he interested himself in the loves of the sentimental Charles Mowbray and the lovely Emily Lukewarm, whose ringlets always would get into her eyes, and which he was always knocking out again, until they became quite fuzzy— that least those on the right side of her head— and who had a way of hitching up her gown when she trod upon it in going backwards— the manner we say in which Jack Nonpareil interested himself to bring about the consent of the guardians of the young people, the fiery Detonator, and the palcid Lukewarm, was ingenious and "original," though the stern moralist might object that it approached the confines at least of swindling. We wonder how colonel Detonator ever lived to be old enough to have white hair, for on Wednesday night we saw him several times within an ace of an apoplectic fit.— We wonder how a white hair could ever have managed to find its way into Sir Jacob Lukewarm's head, so placid was the old gentleman's demeanor, when the domestic crockery was smashed by careless servants, one of the most trying events— we think, we maybe mistaken however— in the life of man.—

We must not forget to mention the song so sweetly sung by Mr. Robinson, a gallant tar, between the pieces. Mr. Robinson sings with great taste and feeling.

We say that our amateurs acted well, but when we looked back from the front row where we were seated, we really do not see with such an audience how they could have done otherwise. Seldom in Dacca even have we seen such an assembly of beauty as graced the Amateurs' performance. Secure of the applauding smiles of the lovely creatures before them, how could they do otherwise than act well? We looked back once, and remembering that our sterner avocations deterred us from cultivating the society of the sex, or striving to gain their favor, we turned again with a sigh to the stage, and did not venture to look behind again.

What should we have done without our sailros? We had sailors managing the scenery, we had sailors singing for us, we had a sailor assisting on the flute the indefatigable Gaudencio to "discourse eloquent music." We had a guard of sailors round the theatre, and we had sailors in their barracks to whom we could safely trust the protection of our houses and the town, while we relaxed for an hour or two from the cares and anxieties of our daily life.

Long live the Amateurs, and when they act again may we be there to see. Long live the ladies, whom for our own peace of mind we have determined not to see. Long live the Sailors— all we wish is that we could see more of them. And long live— but we think it will be better to end this article with the concluding lines of the playbill— "No Smoking allowed— Vivat Regina."

18.7.1857

PUBNA NAVAL THEATRICALS.

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS.

Sir,— You will, I have no doubt, be astonished at receiving any news from this silent and for a long time buried in oblivion little station. It is many years since the land of "Pobbon" was mentioned in the annals of history as a portion of the "land flowing with milk and honey, " and as owning the well of "Sherrybeer;" but as some mendacious scribes have of late taken upon themselves the task of denunciating the deeds, and aspersing the character of the Pubna Naval Brigade. I feel it a duty and a very pleasant one, as no skilful pen will attempt it, to do my best to proclaim the good traits of character of this little Bank of worthies.

If you remember, the HURKARU inserted a long letter out of the PROBHAKUR newspaper about these sons of Neptune. That letter was one tissue of gross Falsehoods. If, as it said, such atrocities were of daily occurrence ever since the Brigade's arrival, how is it that only two cases (of petty assault even) have been brought up before the Civil Authorities. Surely the Bengallees who are so fond of dabbling in the courts would have complained if what the PROBHAKUR said been true. However the Brigade forgives it, as the sailors know very

well that a Bengallee wrote it. and their pens are their.muskets or weapons of aggression, and their only missiles are lies, forgeries and deceit.

I was, a few days ago invited to dine with the officers of the Brigade and of course availed myself of the oportunity of making the acquaintance, of men about whom I have heard so much, even in my secluded part of the district. I met all the elite of the station and the dinner party passed off with a "feast of reason and a flow of soul," and the cloth being removed we were to my amazement informed that the Theatre was to commence immediately (Fancy a Theatre in Pubna) I had not till then heard of it; well, we adjourned to the Barracks, (which consist of a splendid building, the largest and handsomest in the station formerly intended for a charity Hospital, and presented as such to the Government by that beau ideal of a planter, the magnimous and benevolent Mr. Kenny.) There the sight in entering the Box seats was grand; the stage most correctly got up at one end of the long room, which was hung round with particoloured cloths. Flags of almost every nation in the world, swords and bayonets formed into glittering stars, the whole interspersed with all sorts of Latin, German, English and American mottos and inscriptions; in fact the decorations were designed and carved out in a way which clearly showed that some of the sailors had not been on the sea all their lives. The illuminations were very brilliant and the stage was got up evidently by no mean scene painter. The band consisting of a flute, two violins. a trumpet, and a Drum did itself great credit and played away most assiduonsly all through the performance. The first play was "Macbeth" which was far more worth going 20 miles to see than most four shilling theatres at home. the dresses were very tastefully made, and the wearers did their parts a merveille. The acting was very good indeed. I rather suspect that Mr. Macbeth is mere in his element on the stage than in the ranks; he must be a practised hand at it he did so well, and Mrs. Macbeth was quite a triumph of artistic skill; she really was as handsome a woman as I would wish to see. We would like to, and cannot, repeat the applauds of the Company in the pit, whose jokes and chaff directed at the fair Mrs. M. have made her blushingly retire if she had not unfortunately been a she. After the tragedy which was the "thing " of the evening came a hornpipe and some songs, very musing, and the whole well sung, and last but not least, the minstrel nigger band who sang in perfect harmony, took their several parts capitally, and made us all laugh to our hearts content.

I can hardly extol the performance enough without being guilty of prolixity and tautology. Suffice it to say that every body was very much amused and gratified.

I heard afterwards that the whole affair cost nearly Rs 200, and that it was partly collected by subscriptions in the district.

Commercolly 21st Sept. I remain your always

JEAN EMILE

2.10.1858

CORRESPONENCE

SYLHET THEATRICALS

To the EDITOR of the DACCA NEWS.

My dear Mr. Editor.— In times like these, it is something more than a pleasure to be able to sit down and pen you an account of our doings at this pretty little station, since the arrival of "your old Dacca friends" the Jolly Jack Tars of the Naval Brigade; but my object now, is to confine myself to an account of our first theatricals, which came off last night, when the "Sylhet Amateurs" made their debut at "Her Majesty's Theatre."

For weeks past the greatest excitement had existed in anticipation of "the coming event." Fair and old, crooked and straight, rich and poor" all looked forward to the 22nd Instant, on which date it had been publicly announced the Theatre was to be-definitely opened. Some had previously declared this to be impossible, others again pooh poohed the bare idea of all being ready on the above date, but our worthy manager Mr. Lloyd B. A. was true to his time in spite of many and unlooked for obstacles and drawbacks that had to be met and dealt with, and none but those possessing an untiring unflagging spirit like his, could have overcome the thousand and one petty details that had to be thought of and arranged for at the last.

Well, Sir, at last the day did come, and yesterday evening at about 8 o'clock it would have done your heart good to have taken a peep at the happy smiling faces gathered together in Her Majesty's Sylhet theatre to witness the performance of St. Patrick's day" and that deep doleful tragedy "Bombastes Furioso."— Owing to the kindness and courtesy of the officer Commanding the Sylhet Light Infantry the greater part of the Band attached to this corps, left their mountain homes in order to assist in the Festivities of the evening. Ere the curtain finallydrew up at 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, one of our respected residents "the Earl of Warrandon" presented himself in front of the stage and delivered in his usual pleasing graceful manner an excellent original Prologue written by him for the occasion. Full of point, and admirably adapted to succeed in getting the ear of the house which was amply testified by the plaudits that greeted his Lordship when he had concluded.

And now to the performance.

St. Patrick's day went off capitally in every sense of the word. The audience appeared pleased and gratified throughout, and took in kind part any little defect or irregularity that usually attends a first performance.

Of the actors let me speak a word. Justice Creduloas was very good, and did the part of the old testy, suspicious Father very well; his wife Bridget looked the fond, loving, middle aged spouse all over;

and her acting, postures and attitude were much above par. As for her daughter Lauretta her get up was perfect in every way, and more than one party was taken in at learning it was not a "real men" before them. As for Dr. Roser his dress and personal appearance was considered excellent, and his grief at the reminiscence of the many sterling qualities of his poor dear Dolly drew tears (of daughter) from the eyes of the audience. Lieutenant Connor was as rash but ardent a lover as his Lauretta could desire. His parts, (when disguised as the countryman, and German Quack,) were each sustained to the life. The soldiery, in the piece taken by the men of the Naval Brigade could not have been surpassed, their dress, manner acting and "tout ensemble" were perfect, and they contributed greatly to the success of the play. They knew their parts too, thoroughly, which was half the battle. and both Roser and the gay Lieuteuant may take a quiet hint on this head. ere the next performance comes off. At the fall of the cuartain after "St. Patrick's day" our indefatigable, zealous manager was very deservedly called for by the audience, and the loud, continued, sincere greeting he met with, showed him how much his cape, trouble and labour had been appreciated. After this all who had borne part in the first piece appeared "ex Costume " while the Band played our noble National Anthem, the curtain rising, and shewing the whole of the audience standing, both European and Native.

That deeply mournful Tragedy of Bombastes Furioso now succeeded and went off if possible better than the first piece. No genuine crowned head could have succeeded "our Artaxominous". His dress, speech, and gait, all told of Royalty, and the literal way in which he swore to serve out "grog and Bacey" evermore, to his Bom and Fusbos, quite won the hearts of these two worthies Bombastes and His army were the sight of the evening, their general soldierlike, steady, military appearance would have drawn forth the highest encomiunis from Baron Clyde himself. The deadly combat between Fusbos and Bombaste, at the last, kept the audience in a powerful state of "doubt, fear, hope and anxiety," as to the result, and when the Furioso at lenght fell wounded mortally, half suppressed sobs could be distinctly heard.

All things, Mr. Editor, must have an end however, and so had our pleasant evening. Truly did the sorrow stricken Roser observe, that "No happiness is lasting;" we are as it were "Kings and beggars," "Flesh is grass and flowers fade"— but nevertheless it will I assure you be many a long day ere the recollection, of this really social, happy gathering (the first we all trust of a series of them) fades from our minds. It is something more than a pleasure to see all uniting without one dissentient voice in trying to promote the happiness of all around them— in a way too so simple and innocent in itself, requiring but the good will and hearty pull of all together to ensure success.

The night's festivities concluded with a supper given to all who had lent a willing hand, or in any way assisted in the erection of the theatre- our Jolly Tars not being forgotten.

All sat together in one room, and naught but genuine good fellowship and feeling prevailed. The conduct of our tars throughout was beyond all praise, and Captain Lewis may well be proud of such a band of heroes: their uniform courteous manner, and high state of discipline reflect the very greatest credit on their Commander. Well may old England be proud of her wooden walls, with such men to man them.

I believe it is proposed to have regular performances now every 3 weeks; if all the rest go off as well as this has done, no station from the "Khyber" to "Cape Commorin" will exceed this for "fraternite" and socialite! Ah! well!! well!! I must conclude Mr. Editor, the "mortgage of my little bit of clay is nearly out" so I'll stop. With our best wishes for an equal success in all other Theatricals elsewhere, and everywhere.

I beg to subscribe myself

Your devoted servant

"Poor Dear Dolly"

Sylhet

23rd Septr. 1858.

2.10 1858

THEATRES.

A Theatre has been opened, and performances have taken place at Chittagong. A correspondent writes us from Sylhet that, "we have nearly finished a highly commodious and elegant Theatre. We hope if all goes well to have our first performance on the 20th Instant" and we have got an order to print the bills regardless of expense, those of them intended for the ladies on white silk! From an invitation published in our advertising columns it will be seen, that Pubna has also its theatricals. Now we would ask what is Dacca doing? We have been told that we have some of the best amateur actors in India among the officers and soldiers of H. M's 19th. Why are their lights hid under bushels? Is it that they think we would not enjoy and appreciate acting? For our own part we would state, that it is the only amusement that would keep us out of our beds after 9 P.M. and would encounter the chances of a thousand headaches next morning "to go to the play." We believe that among Daccaites we are not singular, and if any one should doubt this, let a circular only be sent round to obtain subscriptions for the erection of a theatre, and the result will, we are confident, bear us out in what we have said. Are her satellite to have their dramatic performances, and the planet Dacca herself to have no theatre? Is Dacca, instead of leading the way, not even to follow a good example? Have our soldiers so much to do, that the building the theatre, fitting up the stage, painting scenes, and learning their parts would unnecessarily fatigue them? Or is this not such work as would employ and interest them, and relieve the tediousness and ennui of barrack life? It has been said that there is no band. But a band is not absolutely necessary to good acting. The want of a band did not prevent our having ball after ball, and music is generally thought to be more necessary to dancing than to acting.

But we are sure we need say nothing more. The reason we have had no theatre was, we have no doubt, because nobody thought of it; and how could the poor fellows which the town was full of galaxies of beauty, all demanding their unwearied homage and attention. But now that they have gone, with the exception of the — alas! how few— bright constellations, who, dwelling here, habitually illuminate our otherwise dark and gloomy atmosphere, the idea of a theatre will no doubt strike with irresistible force the mind of each, who striking his forehead will exclaim in the depths of self-depreciation— "What an ass I was not to think of this before!" Let not then Sylhet be exalted. Sylhet has not been overrun and ravaged with galaxies as we have. Let not Pubna crow mightily over us. We have been as Ulysses enchanted by Calypso, or Hercules spinning at the fact of Omphale, and so would Pubna have been if he had been here; but now, the spell being removed, we have resumed our strength, and shall soon have a theatre round which Sylhet and Chittagong and Pubna may revolve with decent pride, and be in no danger of flying off and setting up for centres of Civilization for themselves, in consequence of the misconduct of the central planet.

2 10 1858

OUR THEATRE

On saturday evening last the station gentlemen amateurs disperesd the clouds of dullness which prevailed here since the departure of the Naval Brigade from Dacca, by opening their fine little theatre with a well diversified playbill. On entering we were delighted to find the house pretty full with the elite of Dacca, and the orchestra pouring forth, though in gentle notes its heart ravishing strains. The stage was veiled off with a beautifully painted river secenery overhanging with bills, executed, as we were informed, by some of the Privates of the Detachment of H. M's., 19th Regiment, cantoned here, and displaying a fair artistic skill and creditable knowledge of the principles of perspective. At the appointed hour the curtain was drawn up, when an equally executed town-secenery burst into view, and Sergeant Austin appeared on the stage, habited like an English peasant corossing a young pad-saddled Donkey from which immediately alighting as scarcely able to bear his weight, he made his bow, and sung the song of the *Ratcatcher's Daughter* which he did with proper effect, greatly hightened by the antics of the Donker he held with one hand, while he poked him, at intervals, with the cane he had in the other. This was followed by the farce "Locked in with a lady." The dialogue between Peter Follet and *Mary Markham* was so full of humour as to excite roars of laughter from the audience. It was indeed singularly amusing to see that *Peter Follet* and *Mary Markham's* raging anger and dislike gradually wore a way, and gave place to the liveliest feelings of tenderness, and that their union was brought about by a strange complexity of cirscumstances, to the painful disappointment of Edward *Brown* who was really *done Brown*. The vocal and instrumental concert by the Ethopian

serenaders was indeed quite *original.* and was duly *encored.* The *comic song* in character the *Comic Medley* and the rest of the songs of the evening, were one and all well sung. The *Sailor's Hornpipe* was danced satisfactorily enough, but with a little more polish and practice may be rendered more remarkably so. In a word the whole of the actors acquitted themselves so successfully that the finale of each was hailed with rapturous clapping of hands. At the *national anthem*, which formed the conclusion, all the company stood up, a mark of honour which appeared to us singularly appropriate, when our most gracious and good Queen Victoria was just about to take the reins of the Government of India out of the hands of John Company. It affords us much pleasure here to notice that the whole of the audience separated at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 quite gratified as ourselves with the performance. The gentlemen amateurs realy deserve the thanks of the public of Dacca for this intellectual treat and we sincerely hope that it is one of the series they intend entertaining the station with this season.

6 11 1858

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SYLHET THEATRE

Dear Sir,— So rare are the opportunities of the English public on this frontier to witness universal Society, and so little encouragement is given to it, that the appearance of the drama at the above place may justly be accepted as a challenge to the inhabitants of surrounding stations to rouse from their torpility and to assert their claims to rank also as social individuals. Should in some instances the effects prove abortive yet a response of gratitude for the efforts of others should be made. Anxious to see society appear in that pleasing social form I was induced to visit Sylhet and undergo all the horrors of a long journey in a wretched dingy to withness the dramatic abilities of some of my friends and the results of the energies of the individual who, with success equal to that which attend him in his official duties, wielded the all important though invisible machinery of managership of the above theatre.

The interior arrangements of this little temple of Thalia could not have been more ingeniously, classically or pleasantly contrived; more brilliantly imagined or delightfully executed from the door keepers gentlemanly and correct attire and kid golved hands to the graces and hymeneal spirits which seemed to float about on the beautifully painted walls and scenery—from the servants, in gay and spotless livery of yellow and red, who ministered to the foot lights, to the vessel which seemed on the Canvass to be tossed about, the spoil of the merciless waves of an angry sea, from the sunset effect depicted on the sands to the copperytones of the horizon melting into gold, and contrasting with the purple shadow from the rocks beneath. All inimitable effects of light and shade! these i.e. the

painting, the Theatre and the arrangements all combined to realize the idea that the admiring audience had been transferred bysome supernatural agency to an English Theatre or to the Emerald Isle, or some other place thousands of miles away from the Sylhet of bye-gone days.

The performance commenced with the farce of the hundred pound note Mr. Cockerell as the young spend-thrift Montmorency was the personification of a fast English gentleman and as the ardent lover of the beautiful Miss Arlington shewed his profound knowledge of the art of wooing he looked remarkably well and maintained his part most admirably. His servant O'Shaughnessy performed by Sergeant Core was most humourously and faithfully illustrated and his Hibernian blunders excited much laughter. The exquisitely amusing manner in which Mr. Nelson as the Welsh Attorney legally and minutely scrutinized his hotel bill and confounded "pop" with "pap" which was intended for the baby of a lady under his charge was excellent, and could not be described: his tender solitude for the honor and welfare of his fair ward, and his well expressed honest indignation at being imposed upon elicited universal applause. The character of the horse jockey was so perfectly illustrated by Currie N. B. as to induce the belief he was reared at Epsom.

Hairriet Arlington acted by Mr. Mayo N. B. appeared in all the pride and beauty of womanhood and showed herself a most perfect coquette, her singing of "Buy a broom" was infatuating, beyond measure, her Naivete was superb and her general manner most charming. But dirty pothouse boots "Billy Black" was never throughout the career of the play on the most distinguished boards, so perfectly characterized as by the worthy manager of the Theatre, his acting may be looked upon as one of the distinguished characteristics of histrionic Sylhet. I really have come to the conclusion that there is a mine of wealth in the genious of this frontier as yet unexplored, and the only hope of exibiting this genius depends upon such daring and boldness as has been shewn by the manager of the Sylhet Theatre: who not only started the idea of Theatrica's there, but having a capacity for imitative burlesque most excellently exaggerated the comic power of the plays in which he acted the elements for which exaggeration lay deep and hitherto unknown in his own nature: the humourous and poetic creation which was thus revealed was a comic development in which the wit, the fool and the punster commingled so curiously, admirably and cleverly that one fancied that the illustrious Aristophanes himself had arisen from Greek Hades and walked into the soul of dirty Billy Black. The character of James by Stewart N. B. Lady Pedigree by Montague and Mrs. Arlington by Bacon were all admirably maintained, a highly entertaining interlude followed the above play, the scene being the top room of a tavern in which were scattered around a table a party of jolly jack tars drinking, merrily passing the bottle and the song, and a hornpipe was admirably danced in

Hamilton N. B. next followed the Force of "Mywife's Dentist" the opening scene of which was beautifully got up, in a neatly furnished English drawing room, the foolman and ladies maid in the absence of their master and mistress drank their wine and discussed the private affairs of the family.

The gallant general represented by Mr. Nelson shwed that though that gentleman had not stormed Sebastopol, not having had the opportunity, he had the power to take by storm an admiring audience who loudly applauded his acting. as it would intrude too much on your columns and as it is hoped that all your readers who can will visit Sylhet and judge for themselve. I will not enter into a detailed description of each character "in my wife's Dentist."

Mr. Mayo as Sir John Beauville Mr. Cromartie as Dick Hazard, Core N. B. as David. Montague N. B. as lady Beauville. Bacon N. B. as Cecilia. Augier N. B. as Rhodha admirably represented their parts. The evening's amusements were thoroughly enjoyed by all in fact the laughter became so excessive that fears were entertained that hysterics or apoplexy would result to certain nervous and stout gentlemen in the boxes last the presence of distinguished medical aid acted as a preventive and nothing so sad occurred. As regards the shifting of the varied scenery the usual stage conventions were set aside, and novel and apparently supernatural mode of action was introduced.

Thus in this little temple all parties found a neutral ground where differences and discord could not reign, as the magic influence of the song the dance and the drams excited a sway too potent, too irresistable to be overcome.

The manager in his undertaking should revive the sympathy and assistance of all, and take with him into private life the grateful recollections of such a social and amiable community as Sylhet seems to be composed of.

Yours faithfully

"RIDE LI SATIS.

6.11.1858

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সংকলন

NAWAB ABDOOL GUNNY

Mr. Halliday professes to have a great desire to conciliate the Mahomedans, and to interest them in the cause of education. How is it then, that our townsman Kajeh Abdool Gunny[৪৩] one of the wealthiest men in Bengal, himself an English scholar, and one who has subscribed liberally to the various Government schemes of charitable, Dispensaries and c. has been appointed neither a Member of the Ferry Fund Committee, nor a member of the Local Committee of Public Instruction, for both of which Honorary distinctions his name has been frequently sent up to Government? The only Mahomedan Member of the Committee of Public instruction we have, is the principal Sudder Ameen who cannot understand English, and who can in consequence take no part in the discussions at the monthly meetings.

31.5.1857

[Dungheer]

To the Editor of the DACCA NEWS

Sir,

..... It behaves the sons of that "Decaying city" to make the most of the opportunity, and not to suffer it to pass by unimproved. Among the multifarious evils of Dacca are these which proceed from the dungheer, a Hercules in strength, and whose very name inspires terror and confusion into every heart, and whose life has been stained with every crime that debases the dignity of the human character. No one who is thoroughly conversant with Dacca, can with a safe conscience pretend ignorance of it. Bred in the lowest societies, destitute of any noble or humane quality, and unfortunately porssessed of a giants strength, he the *dungheer*[৪৪] leads a life of violence and oppression to his fellow inhabitant; disdains every honorable means of procuring a livelihood, and, perceiving that his cruelities have received the sanction of time and that he can commit any crime with impunity, persist in acting his devil daring part and lives almost at discretion upon the inhabitants. No sooner is the night a little advanced, then he repair to some week

or corner of the city, always armed with a ruler concealed under his garment, to carry on his nefarious commerce; and scarcely a night passes that he does not succeed in pocketing a few rupees, extorted by blows and kick from his unfortunate victims who unconsciously thrust themselves into his unrelenting clutches. Alas! He rest not here, but braves even broad daylight. To knock out the brains of a man, whatever maybe his rank or position, is not a difficult thing at Dacca. Pay the *dungheer* the paltry sum of 8 pice, point out to him the object of your resentment, and your order will be undoubtedly and at no distant date carried into execution By the bye, I have forgotten to tell you that the *maydan* between college and the criminal court is the favorite theatre of the dungheer and consequently deserves the best attention to the Magistrate.....

9th July 1856

Yours obediently

A Distant Voice

12 7.1856

[Kajeh Abdool Gunny]

We had the pleasure on Tuesday, of visiting the hospitable mansion of Kajeh Abdool Gunny, to witness the performances of Monsieur Kenebel's equestrian Company. The weather was propitious and a strong wind kept the circus very cool, though it interferred a little with the light. It is now many years since we visited circus, and we are perhaps not very good judges, but it appeared to us that the performances would be well worth witnessing even in England. Mons. Kenebel himself is a capital rider and Jumper. Madame Kenebel looked very pretty and graceful, though the shying of her horse, which was very fresh, made her performances even dangerous. But our pet was little Emile Kenebel who looked very pretty indeed and rode very well. We laughed heartily at the scene between Mr. Kenebel and Mr. Williams. Mr. O'Donnells performance on a very unruly horse showed consummate horsemanship our native friends declared the whole thing to the *Jadoo.* The only thing with which we can find fault, was the conclusion of the performance with God save the Queen in a crash of one fiddle! Why can we not get up a band? There is *material* in Dacca out of which one could be made. All we want is instruments and a bandmaster. Even in Calcutta, which city all good Daccaites know to be far behind Dacca in every thing,—even Calcutta has got a Town Band. why not Dacca? "To conclude", Kajeh Abdool Gunny splendid supper, and excellent champagne sent us home to a sound sleep, and a pleasant awakening next morning.

26.10.1856

[Book Club]

THE BOOK CLUB parcel contains the following works. Wilson's Works Vol. V.—"Irving's Life of Washington Vol. III— Lake's "Our Captivity in Russia."—Reade's "Never too late to mend."— Grant's

"Harry Ogilvie."— De Tocqueville's "France before the Revolution."— Metcalfe's "Oxonian in Norway."

4.10.1856

[Fire in Nalgola]

ON MONDAY, about 2 P.M. a fire occurred in Nolgola, by which about twenty five huts were consumed, and a considerable quantity of property destroyed. One carpenter lost about Rs 150 worth of chests, chairs, &c, which were in his shop. Four tables belonging to the Government school at Fuereedpore were burned. Three years ago the same huts were burned. It is time that they should become pucka as the rest of Dacca has chiefly in consequence of fire.[৪৫]

26.7.1856

[Tiger]

A tiger is reported to have killed in the Jungle to the west of the race course, near Kajeh Abdool Gunny's elephant's. What are our sportsman about?

4 10.1856

[Museum]

Why should not Dacca, the capital of Eastern Bengal, have its mueseum? Who will impugn the assertion of the value, and very great usefulness of placing under are coup d'oeil a well selected assemblage of the productions of the province it animal, vegetable and mineral wealth its textile and other manufacturers. Specimens of the inventive powers and ingenious art of the people, of their luxuries and elegancies. Argument is not needed to give weight to this matter, a city and museum are kindered and associate names, and reflect lustre the one upon the other. Dacca is the metropolis of the province, the seat of the energetic thought, the centre of action: it has its college, its press, its bank, and numerous well endowed public institutions and charities. Let it take another step in progressive advancement, and by it museum give an increased impulse and lend on enlightened guiding hand to the expansion of commerce, adding at the same time to the material comfort of the people and tending to ameliorate their moral condition. A well furnished and arranged museum would serve on a pioneer to extended commercial undertaking; it might grow in time to be the pride of the place, it need not at first be to scientific, it would revelve from all part the woods, the grains, and seeds, the textile and coarses fibres, furs hides, ivory, articles of food minerals, coal, limestone and other rocks, specimens of its soil with an account annexed of their relative productiveness and suitableness for various crops; samples of manufacturers from raw materials of all kinds; works in the precious metals, in pottery, glass, and precious stones, thus exemplifying the advance in arts to this might be added in course of time its natural history, it should contain also maps of the country; an account of its roads and rivers, and capabilities of traffic;

statistics in general; an account of its principal marts and bazar, the amount of the population heahten or other wise

1.11.1856

THE BENGAL BRITISH INDIA ASSOCIATION.

The British India Association [৮৬] has presented a petition to the Lieutenant Governor, praying for the appoinment of a commission, to enquire into the social condition of the rural population of Lower Bengal, We are glad to receive support, to what has so long been the prayer of the Indigo Planters, even from men who have unaccountably taken up a position, similar to that occupied by our natural enemies the civilians. We say unaccountably, and we cannot understand how men, who admit all the evils the planters complain of, and admit even the remedies proposed by the planters, such as increase of the strength of the magistracy, reform of the police and civil courts &c, to be those that are most required do not feel, that however much an individual planter and Zeminder may detest each other, may fight with each other, and may try to do each other the greatest possible injury the interests of the two classes of men are the same. The point of the Zemindar as well as of the planter is to be freed from a despotism which in the remoter parts of the Mofussil within a few hours journey of Calcutta is recommended by law, by public opinion or by the watchfulness of the press. The criminal law administered at Serajgunge, Tipperah, at Furreedpore, or even in Dacca, is not the law of the regulations. It is the will of the magistrate. Till law, as administered by the Sudder Dewany Adalut not a law founded upon justice , upon because, or upon by code, it is the whim of an individual, for even where two or three judges sit together, all being equally the lead, and overrides the others. Every one knows that when Mr. John Colvin was in the Sudder; the duties of the other judges were reduced to writing the words "I concur with Mr. Colvin." If Mr. Abereeomby Dick protested against his decision Mr. Dunbar considered and Mr. Dick's protest might have remained unwritten, for all the good it did.

The British India Association is surely not so blinded, that it cannot see that if an interloper, an Indigo planter, can obtain any advantage for himself, the native must eventually share it. If he succeeds in throwing open close service of the covenanted, he cannot expect to enter it alone. The way will remain open for those native also. If he obtains for himself that political power of which every Englishman in his own country has a share, even though it extend only to the election of a vestyman, the native will obtain it also. The Hindoo Patriot acknowledges the obligations which the natives owe to the Europeans for their boldness in exposing malfeasance in officials. The HINDOO PATRIOT can see that if the European succeeds in removing an unjust Judge or Magistrate, the whole district and all its inhabitants, native as well as European most benefit. Indeed the native will benefit more than the European, for a magistrate, the whole district and all its inhabitants, native as

well as European must benefit Indeed the native will benefit more than the European, for a magistrate will be guilty of acts of oppression towards a native zemindar which he would never venture on towards a European. But the HINDOO PATRIOT only sees, in the desire of the planters of Serajgunge to have an inefficient native magistrate removed, the opposition of race to race, of the Anglo Saxon, to the pliant and timid native, where policy has for long ages been, to "atop to conqure." We can assure the HINDOO PATRIOT, and the British India Association, that the native has no better friend than the planter, who fight for himself, fights for them. One of the worst enemies of the natives is Mr. Halliday. His exercise of his patronage had been such, that he can now point to Deputy Magistrates and Darogahs, their acts, and the dissatisfaction they have produced, and can shake his head and say, " The natives will never do we have tried them, and they have failed."— Why have they failed? Because he made Deputy Magistrates of illiterate darogahs, and dorogans of perfect boys from the Government colleges, who had undergone no sort of training before the enormous powers of a Darogah were placed in their hands— We that poor lad, who is now undergoing his weary imprisonment in the jail at Fureedpore, one fit to have been entrusted at once with the power of a darogah? —Why ! the burkindaz who tortured the man to death in his presence, told him, when he ventured to demonstrate, to be silent that how he was new to the work, and did not know his business. That old man his father, who died of grief when he heard of his son's condemnation would have been now alive, had that son only received a little training before entering on his business. that young man now a felon would have been the any of his father's declining years.

We are sorry to see that the British India Association has undertaken its proper line of policy, as to quarrel with the planter. We are sorry to see such a set of question of the published in the Englishman of the 23rd Instant. they are questions not intended to elicit truth, but to support a case against the planters. They are suggestive questions. The questioned knows by the way in which they are put, that if he gives an answer favorable to him planter it will be disagreeable to the questioner. The planter can only read them with feelings of irritation and contempt. Throughout the whole of them runs the question particularly insisted upon. Are the ryots in any was inveighed or compelled to enter into engagements with the planters, or do they do it of their own free will ? Do the Zemindars, of whom the Association is composed, ever use Begure labour. It is allowed even by the questions that the planter pays something to the ryots. Do the zemindars pay anything to Begure? There is a great deal of sympathy extended on the ryot of Bengal. Can any Zemindar, Planter, or Missionary, give an instance of a ryot dying of hunger? Unless during widespread calamity, occasioned by an inundation or a famine. The British ryot often dies of starvation and of cold and British workhouses are full to overflowing, and yet the cause of this is never ascribed to the oppression of the landholders or the mill-

owners, but to causes which will never cease to exist, as long as that Word is true which said "The poor shall never ease out of the land."

The want of India is cheap and speedy Justice, which shall be of easy access. As long as this is denied the rich man and the powerful man, whether native or European, will oppress the poor and the weak. The only safeguard against their doing so now, to a greater extent than they do, is that the wise among them will not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. the wise Zemindar knows that ryots, well-to-do in the world, can pay him his rents both in good and seasons and in bad, and that if he leaves them only bare subsistence, the occurrence of a bad season makes tham leave his estate, which is soon occupied by the Jungle in their stead.— The wise Planter knows, that if he cheats his boatman or his coolies one year, they will not come to him the next, his crop will be lost, and his employars or agents will no longer mpley him as a manager. We can point to more than one first rate concern, that has been ruined by a foolish planter. We can point to more than one bad concern, that has become a first rate case, by the good management of a wise one.

4.10.1856

MUSEUM

The following has heen exensively circulated. We would beg our friends to forward specimens and curiosities to S. Robinson Esq., who has kindly undertaken the duties of Honorary Secretary. We need scarecely state of what immense benefit to the country such a museum will be—

"May I request, in favor of your circulations, towards the formation of a museum which it is proposed should be established at Dacca, for the prupose of making more fully known as the resources of the country.

The accompanying incomplete list in forwarded, merely as a guide for the required collections; but any other objects of interest will also be very acceptable.

It will add greatly to the value of the Specimens which you may present to the museum, if you will kindly furnish a description of them, with reference to their general properties, the places where they are found, their uses the methods and cost of manufacture or production, and any other important information regarding them.

List of object suitable for the formation of a museum at Dacca—

Vegetable production.	Animal substances and c.
Substances used for food.	Wool, Silk, Tussah Silk.
Gum, Resins, Gum Resins.	Hair, Feathers, Skins of Animals.
Dyes and colours.	Horns, Ivory, Tortoise shell.
Banks and tanning Materials.	Leather, Glue, Isinglass.

Seeds, Drugs, and oils.	Shell loc, Bees Wax.
Fiborous substances.	Lac Day, oils of all kinds.
Cotton, Jute, Hemp. Flax.	Specimens of Zoology, including
those of orinithology and	entomology

Timber and ornamental woods of all kinds.
Specimans of Paloeontology, Geology, and Minerology.
Coins, Antiquities, and Curiosities.
Manufactures in silk, cotton, Hemp and Flax.
Manufacturers of fine and costly fabrics.
Paper Making. works in Metals, Jewellery, Glass and Pottery, Glazing and cement.
Carring in wood and Decorative Furniture.
Musical Instruments.
Machines, Tools, Agriculture Implement.
Armoury, and weapons and warfare.
Models of newly invented machines.

31 1 1857

DACCA MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE.

At a Meeting of the Municipal Committee held at the Dacca Bank on Tuesday the 2nd June 1857.

Present.— C. JENKINS ESQ.— J.G.N. Pogose Esq.—KAJEH ABDOOL GUNNY.

1st Passed the following bills

Monthly Establishment for May 1857	....	......	205	2	6
Bill for purchasing Lime and soorkee for repairing Drains in May 1857	......	....	9	4	0
Bills for Coolies for cleaning the drains and bridges &c in May 1857	......	....	62	0	0
Bill for killing Dogs (252 in May 1857).	......	....	15	12	0
Total Company's Rupees			292	2	6

2nd Read a letter from the Magistrate dated the 7th ultimo placing at the Committee's disposal the sum of Rupees 300 surplus collection of the chowkeedary tax for March last.

A FORBES.

Hon. Secy. Municipal Committee. [৪৭]

6 6 1857

DACCA

We regret to have to announce the death of Baboo Sooroup chand Dass the well know dealer in Dacca Muslins. He died on the morning of Friday The 29 th Instant.

6 6 1857

[Dacoits in Sounderbunds]

A TRAVELLER by boat from Dacca to Calcutta, complains to the HURKARU of the number of dacoits in the Soonderbunds. The HURKARU thinks this may arise from the disturbed state of the Country. The records of Mr. Dampier the late Superintendent of Police's office, will abundantly show that it has always been thus. Since the great increase of cultivation in the Soonderbunds they have become much safer for travellers than they formerly were. Many a planter can tell his tale of having only saved his boat from being plundered by sending a bullet after the villains.

MR. EDDIS of Commercolly learned that some of the Kalassees of the steamer "Charles Allen" had been openly selling in the Bazaar there, Government property, probably looted in the N. W. P. he brought the matter to the notice of Mr. Dampier the Magistrate of Pubna, who was paying him a visit, but that Heaven-born gentleman could not take it upon himself to make any enquiry, as his Mohurrer and Darogah were absent in the district, (vide the DACCA NEWS of the 11th April, page 118, left hand corner of the top of the page) Mr. Eddis searched the suspected houses and found about Rs 1000 worth of stamps, without the vendor's name, a quantity of Serampore paper, and a sepoy's musket. He reported this to Mr. Dampier, who in reply "regretted that Mr. Eddis had incurred the responsibility of seareching the house."— A

8.7.1857

THE MUSEUM AND SOME WANTS OF DACCA

Dr. Green's eloquent speech at the Volunteers' dinner, in which he set forth the treasures of the Dacca Museum, so excited our curiosity as to induce us to devote a part of our very next holiday to an inspection of it, to see if it deserved all that had been said in its favor. We thought that Dr. Green's enthhusiasm might have carried him a little too far, for we could not understand how an institution which was supported, not by a richly endowed University or a powerful Government, but merely by the contributions of a few Europeans thinly scattered over the land, and each of whom had innumerable other calls upon his money, fame, and attention, could have deserved not only Dr. Green's encomium, but even the trouble of a visit to see what had been down. But here again we had an exemplification of a fact which we have often observed in life, which is, that the men who do most, are always those who somehow or other find time and opportunity to do more. A harder worked man than Dr. Green it would perhaps be difficult to find, or one who does his duty more fully and completely in every one of his functions, and yet he has found time to organise this Museum and to do it well. A stranger or traveller who may visit Dacca will learn more by visiting this Museum, in its infancy as it is, of the products, and customs, and natural history, of the country, than he would do by travelling hundreds of miles and reading hundreds of books— if they were

written which they have not been. It is especially what every local museum ought to be (unless it has funds to be both), illustrative of the country around, and not of England and other foreign countries. Here a dealer in fibres sees at once those fibres which can be procured in his vicinity. He can test them; and if he find one more suited to his purposes than those he at present uses, he can procure it within a few days journey, instead of looking with longing eyes at one produced in England or Merica, which would be useless to him since, with our present excessively inefficient means of comunication, it takes nearly as long to procure a substance from Calcutta, two hundred miles distance, as it does to bring that substance from England to Calcutta.

Our museum in its infancy, like nations in their infancy, is more conspicuous in weapons of offence and defence than in the products of the arts. There is a large armoury, containing chiefly the arms used by the Garrows, the Nagas, the Angamee Nagas and other tribes inhabiting our frontiers. There are some shields in the collection, decorated with feathers in a way which would put to shame the novelist Cooper or Mr. Catlin, who have so celebrated the armour of the North American savages, There is a stand of bagpipes, the Adamean original of the Irish pipes, which has no doubt often sounded the pibroch on the victory. But besides these instruments of death to man, the museum contains numberless specimens of articles which conduce to his health, and wealth. and wisdom. It contains a large number of oils produced from almost innumerable substances,—and here we would suggest to Dr. Green that he should attach to each bottle a short account of the substance from which each oil is produced, its habitat, whether it is abundantly procurable or not, a rough estimate of the expense of its manuacture and it especial uses. We would ask also, but that we know that Dr. Green has no time for the necessary experiments, for an account of its light giving and-saponaccous qualities.— We have also in the museum numberless specimens of fibres, and with regard to them we would suggest that a copy of Dr. Royle's work on Indian fibres should be purchased by, and lie continually on the table of the museum for reference.— The museum contains a very good collection of Teas from different parts of India, which must be most interesting to those who have the welfare of India at heart; for we believe that not only Assam and Cachar, but Dacca and Tipperah and Chittagong are destined to become great tea-producing districts. In the department of Natural history the Museum possesses some skeletons and specimens of stuffed animals which reflect the very highest credit upon the medical profession in Dacca. There is a skeleton of the Boa Constrictor and one of the Gooee Samp, prepared by Surgeon Omesh Chunder Dutt assisted by Apprentice Mirzah Ewaz Jan and a Chuprassee of the name of Saudaugur which are especially interesting. Besides these, there are a number of extraordinary birds' nests, and we do believe that the birds in India are the most dodgy builders of nests of any birds in the world, always excepting those of

Australia, which being the antipodes, contains, everything which is topsyturvy, all the animals being birds, and all the birds fishes, and all the fishes quadrupeds, to say nothing of the stones growing outside the cherries, and the snakes taking their tails into their mouths and trundling round like wheels, and the Kangaroo and others taking their children up and putting them into their pockets. Then we have snakes inunmerable, and centipedes, and scorpions, creatures against whom one's gorge rise as it does against a sepoy. To counter balance the disgust produced by these, we have specimens of our dear old mother Earth. We are afraid she is truly feminine, if we may trust to the specimens of her we see in the Dacca Museum. She delights in gandy colors, and there is no doubt she paints— black, white, red grey, brown, blue, yellow, speckled, with all the intervening shades, have their representatives in the Dacca Museum. Here we would make another suggestion to Dr. Green — that he should ticket these specimens with the crops they severally produce, and should exchange specimens with, and ask for information from the curator of the Asiatic Society's museum. Such information would be most useful to such of us as are owners and cultivators of the soil. — We are sorry to see that the collection of insects is so meagre. We live in a district, and near to districts, of which we are the natural museum, where insect life assumes the most extraordinary forms. We are sorry to see that none of the dwellers at Cherrapoonjee have forwarded to us specimens of their leaf and stick insects, to say nothing of the collections of magnificent beetles and butterflies, which we believe are procurable there and at Sylhet, for a mere no to redeem their districts from the opprobrium of being Ultima. Thules, caring for none of those things.

But while we were surveying these collections and pondering over the various thoughts to which they gave rise, shadowing forth the future of benefit of which such institutions will be the cause in the districts in which they are formed, we could not help recalling to our memory on what slight circumstances their permanence depended. We could not but remember that the very existence of the museum was owing to Mr. Brennand's having given up three rooms of his house, for which he charges no rent, for its "local habitation" and "its name;" that if Mr. Brennand were removed, and succeeded by one who did not choose or could not surrender a great part of his household accomodation for the purposes of the museum, the labors of the collectors and contributors would be thrown into the streets or else a charge for house rent would be incurred, which would eat up all the subscriptions, if not plunge it irretreviably into debt. Thus meditating we remenbered that Lord Dalhousie had annexed the legacy of Mr. Mitford to the inhabitants of Dacca," and had therewith built an expensive hospital, contrary to their wishes as set forth at length in the first number of this paper. The legacy, after much law, *amounted to upwards of* Rs 1,20,000. Besides this, his Lordship had also annexed the Hospital which at present exists, and the funds thereto belonging, all raised by private subscription, and

amalgamated them with his scheme of a large hospital: all of which though it might be very "patriarchal" and "oriental" he had no right in some sort repair this injury done by his Lordship to Dacca, by placing at the disposal of the inhabitants certain funds which might be made useful in the following manner.— Those who have created the Museum possess a library, consisting of upwards of Six Hundred works, besides periodicals and magazines, which has cost nearly Rs 8,000 and to keep this library they are forced to be indebted to a private gentlemen for the use of part of his house. They are indebted to Mr. Brennand for rooms for the Museum. There is a Vernacular Library also, kept in a private house. The public Billiard Table is in the out-offices of a private gentleman. The public has no rooms where dinners, balls, theatricals, or meetings may come off. For all these it is indebted to private individual, and should none such be in the station, it must go without them. There is no such thing as a reading room either, for Europeans or Natives.

Now to remedy all this, we would propose that the Government should, after removing the patients to the Mitford Hospital, surrender to the public, whose property it already is, the site and houses of the charitable hospital, and also present to the public the sum of at least Rs 20,000, which is but a small part of the Rs 1,20,000 annexed. On this site, and with this money, we would erect a building to contain the museum, the billiard room the book club with a reading room for its subscribers, the Vernacular library with a reading froom for natives, with a large public room in which might be held meetings, balls, dinners, and which might be fitted up on occasions as a theatre. Cook rooms and other out-offices might be likewise attached.

Why is it that Dacca is almost the only place in Bengal where much has been done by the inhabitants, and where nothing and worse than nothing has been done by Government? Why has Midnapore fire engines, and why were they refused to Dacca? Why has the female school in Dacca, an institution almost unique in Bengal, no help from Government, except a subscription of Rs 5 a month from Mr. Gordon Young which has never been paid? Why has the Dacca district one of the most important roads in the country, only 8 miles in length, and why is that road in hopeless disrepair? Why has the Lieatenant Governor experimented with the Municipal funds of the city and destroyed them, so that we have neither conservancy nor roads? Why did the Governor General himself interfere to steal from us our funds when we were left a legacy, and to apply them in the most useless manner? Why, with a body of the most public spirited inhabitants in Bengal, do we receive nothing but discouragement from Government? Why are we burdened with a Commissioner who will not only propose nothing foi the benefit of his district himself, but will not even encourage or forward to Government the recommendations of others ? Why is all this ? — Can it be a part of that Civil Service system which will allow that no good thing can come from Interlopers? We fear it is, but a day of reckoning

is near at hand yea, is now come. Mr. Halliday has ere this set himself against the Civil Service system in more than one particular. Let him now do this slight justice to Dacca. Let him help but a little those who have done so much to help themselves, and we will forgive his having called Dacca a "decaying city."

21.11.1857

DR. DAVIS requests us to intimate, that supplies of linen and cotton rags will be very acceptable at the Seaman's hospital, for the use of the wounded.

26.12.1857

[Cricket]

This match between the Dacca station and her Majestys 54th regiment was played on wedneaday the 20th Instant. The station was obliged to obtain the assistance of some men of the 54th being unble to get together a complete eleven of there own.Not withstanding this, however, the Military were far too strong and obtained an easy victory. On their side Mr. Edwards particalarly distinguilhed himself and gave the field plenty of work to do. Captains Probart and Nash also played extremely well. On behalf of Dacca Messr Cromartie and Macmillan rendered great assistance, and Mr. Rynds steady bowling did good execution. on the whole a very pleasant day was spent, and we only wish the 54th vere again likely to pass through Dacca to play the return match.

The following is the score.

[Dacca—1st and IInd Innings 48 and 92
54th Ist and IInd Innings-108 and 80]

30.1.1858

NATIVE SERVANTS

To the Editor of the DACCA NEWS, DACCA,

Dear Sir—there is no complaint more general in this coontry than that of the dishonesty of servants, from my own experience I believe it to be well founded, when as a bachelor I commenced have keeping the facult that I first found with my khidmatgar was that of intemperance and dishonesty; he had been frequently admonished, for coming to his duties intoxicated every second or third day and for charging in his account, twice the price he paid in the bazar, the first fault he had promised to abandon, for he was a Moslem and I made him ashamed by appealing to his religion, the second he regarded as the unalienable prerogative of every khidmutgar serving a *saheb*, and could not be prevailed, upon to forego it, as deregatary to the principles of khidmatgardom. I forbade him for a time to go to the bazaar, and undertook though deemed *infradig* to make all the purchases myself, I soon found however that the same code of morality prevailed among the native shopkeepers as among servants,and that it was a thing never heard of in the bazar that a

native provisiomen should not cheat a "Topewalla" . Even when I knew and stated the price of an article I could seldom prevail upon the shopkeepers to let me have it for the same that he would sell it to a native. After trying the experiment for a week I found that it would be cheaper, to endure the extortions of my servants then to trade for myself, I therefore submitted with as good a grace as possible to all impositions accounted for reasonable in the code of damestic, and demurred only when they become too flagrant to be overlooked. The man did not abandon his habit of drinking, and as he had no support in public opinion however much it is countenenced by Moslems at large I directed my sirdar to dismiss him upon the next offence. The occassion soon come. Peerbux protesting his innocence, I ordered him to prove it by breathing in my face. The man did so and being convicted of disobeying orders of violiting his religion, and of telling a falsehood he was dismissed accordingly. But mark his audacity, he demanded from me a certificate of good conduct...

Still it must be acknowleged that a Bengally servant is generally capable, active and cheerful especially if he has a master who suffers himself to be cheated without complaining.

Burrisal
28th January, 1858

Your truly
Z

13 2.1858

CRICKET IN THE EAST

Perhaps the most interesting event ever recorded in the circketing annals of Eastern Bengal, was the grand single wicket match between "service" and "non-service" that came off on the 24th instant on the parade ground of that humidly picturesque station Sylhet. By the unremitted exertions of the well known cricketer Mr. Warrand, the ground had been carefully measured, and the wicket pitched at the exact distance of 22 yrds. Indeed to an impartial eye witness everything must have appeared quite *comme il fout*. The weather was all that could be desired, the ground most unmoffassilishly level, the concourse of spectators very numerous, including many equstrians.......

[Score

Non Service 1st Innings		2nd Innings	
J. Cromartie Esq. bwarrand	I	b warrand -	4
J. Walker Esq. b. warrand	2	b warrand-	1
Total	3	Total	5
Service			
Captain Stervens b. Cromartie	4	not out	2

R. warrand Esq. C and b. do	3		o
Total	7	Total	2

Service thus winning by 2 wickets.

Sylhet 25the March 1858

3.4.1858

DACCA

Friday 1st October 1858.— The weather has been pleasant, and signs of the cold weather are begining to appear. We ourselves caught a slight cold from the chilliness of out stirrup irons, which is a significant hint that the waiting season is approaching. The river is fulling and we have had 95 inches of rain. Sickness in the shape of slight fever has been common among both natives and Europeans. Having thus hurried over the little matter of the weather, we approach more reverently the great event of the week, which is the erection of a flag staff at the Nawabpore Chowkeedaree station. It seems to be a last expiring effort of the Company's Government, before the issuing of the Proclamation finally knocks it on the head, and the abortion is worthy of the parent that produced it. It stands right in the middle of the gutter: the art of the carpenter has been employed upon it merely to take off its bark for it is crooked as the policy of its progenetrix. The ropes which ought to support it, are like the Education dispatch, they are more shams, doing nothing, and without the power of doing anything; they are also like the resumption laws, tied to poor men's houses which they will one day bring down. The paint is mere whitewash, like Mr. Halliday's tours on benevolent deeds intent, raising hospitals, schools dispenseries &c. which look very well at first, but when exposed to the wear of time and weather disappear completely. The flag once was clean, and the cross once was red, but now, like the glory of the Company's sacrfices, Civil and Military, the once bright colors are fast merging into a dirty brown, to be replaced by the union jack of England, if indeed the flag-staff is not out down and thrown into the bonfire that ought to blaze on proclamtion day. By the bye, are we celebrate that day in Dacca? We see or hear of no preparations. We have received no orders to to illunimate nor any hint to get ready our lamps. We are afraid that the Civilian element which predominates so strongly in Dacca, will observe it us a day of grief and heaviness, instead of rejoicing. It will be all Le rei est mort with them. Their sighing and sobbing will exhust them so that they will have no strength left to shout *Vice la reine.*

2.10.1858

[Book Club]

THE PARCEL for the Book Club contain Barth's Travel sin central Africa Vols. IV & V, Supplementary dispatches of Wellington Vol. II Gubbins' Mutiny in Oude, Eight months' Campaign among the

Bengal Sepoys. As these books have been forwarded by book post from England, there is a chance that they have not been left behind in Egypt, and that the subscribers will not have to content themselves with the literary Barmecide's feast they have had off the two last parcels, which have been devoured only in imagination.

2.10 1858

[Advertisement]

FOR SALE. THE property of a gentlemen at Burrisaul a second hand "Palke Garee" bailt by a European, with patent axels, adapted for one or two horses, It cost Rs, 600 originally. price Rs, 400, Apply to the printer.

19 7.1856

FOR SALE- A Second hand Buggy by cameron in good and serviceable order. - price Rs 150- Apply to the printer.

19 7 1856

FOR SALE— A saddle horse, colour Dun, with black points, middle aged. The above has seem very little work, He is strong, active and well adapted to gentlemen residing in the interior requiring a horse of the above desination, A trial will be Allowed. Price as, 100 cash, Apply to the Printer.

11 7 1856

TO LET

CARRIAGES, BUGGIES AND RIDING HORSES

Brownberry (new) with single horse 2 hours or learn Rs I Palkee Garee with single horse 2 horse or less Rs I For a month certain

Braownbery			(new)	" 50
do	do	do	(old)	" 45
do	do	do	Buggy	" 35

Apply to Baboo Gopee Mohun Sain at

Mr. Shircorcs, `Dacca college' street

TERMS CASH

N,**13**, A,day is to be understood to consist of 6 hours from 10 A, M, to 4 P, M,

or from 11. A. M.to 5 P. M

20 12 1856

FOR SALE— A fast sailing teak built Bolia 55 feet by11, in thorough repair very commodious, with fittings complete, Price Rs. 1,000. Apply to the Printer.

11.7 1857

FOR SALE-- Upset Price Rs,10,000. That splendid upper roomed pucka house at Rungpore built by the late A, T. Dick Cunningham Esq, collector of the district, at an enormous out lay, having an extensive compound with pucka out offices c c, the best situation at the station, and has never been wihout a tenant at Rupees 100 per

mensem. For Particulars apply to W. T. Trotter Esq, Mymensingh to whom the house belongs.

5.9.1857

For SALE—

A Chariot	Rs 700
A Phaeton	" 600
A Country bred gelding	" 100
A set of double harness	" 40
An Arab Horse	" 500

Apply to Moulavie Mahomed Israel, Armanitollah.

10.10 1857

FOR SALE

UPSET PRICE RS 8,000

That lower roomed house with gardens and out offices, opposite the Church, belonging to Mr, and Mrs, G,Mylne.Apply to the secetary of the Dacca Bank.

10 10 1857

টীকা

১. ১৮১৭ সালের ৩০ এপ্রিল মাসিকপত্র হিসেবে প্রকাশিত হয় ফ্রেন্ড অব ইন্ডিয়া। ১৮২০ সালের জুন মাসে শুরু হয়, এর 'কোয়াটার্লি সিরিজ'। সাপ্তাহিকে রূপান্তরিত হয় ১৮৩৫ সালে।

১৮৮৩ সাল পর্যন্ত সাপ্তাহিকটির প্রকাশনা অব্যাহত ছিল্। ঐ বছর স্টেটসম্যান পত্রিকার ওভারসীজ এডিশন অর্ন্তগত হয়ে যায়, 'ফ্রেন্ড অফ ইন্ডিয়া'র । কিছুদিন পর 'ফ্রেন্ড অফ ইন্ডিয়া' অন্তর্গত হয়ে যায়, স্টেটসম্যান এর । এবং এর নতুন নাম হয়- দি 'স্টেটসম্যান অ্যান্ড ফ্রেন্ড অফ ইন্ডিয়া'। পরে 'স্টেটসম্যান' থেকে ফ্রেন্ড অফ ইন্ডিয়া নামটি বাদ যায়। 'ফ্রেন্ড অফ ইন্ডিয়াব' যারা সম্পাদক ছিলেন তাঁরা হলেন—

১. উইলিয়াম কেরি
২. জোসুয়া মার্শম্যান
৩. জন ক্লার্ক মার্শম্যান
৪. মেরিডিথ টাউনসেন্ড
৫. হেনরি মীড
৬. ড জর্জ স্মিথ
৭. জেমস রাউটলেজ

ফ্রেন্ড অফ ইন্ডিয়া ও ঐ পত্রিকায় প্রকশিত প্রবন্ধাবলীর সংকলনের জন্য দেখুন--

Benoy Ghose, *Selections From English Periodicals of 19th Century Bengal*, vol iii, iv, v, and vi, Calcatta 1980, 1979, 1980, 1981

২. তোষাখানা।

৩. আর্ল ক্যানিঙ ছিলেন ভারতবর্ষের প্রথম ভাইসরয়। ১৮৫৬ সাল থেকে ১৮৬২ সাল পর্যন্ত ছিলেন তিনি ভারতবর্ষের গভর্নর জেনারেল। তাঁর সময়কালের সবচেয়ে উল্লেখযোগ্য ঘটনা ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ। ১৮৫৮ সালে ভিক্টোরিয়া কোম্পানীর কাছ থেকে ভারতবর্ষের শাসনভার গ্রহণ করলে ক্যানিঙ প্রথম ভাইসরয় হয়েছিলেন ও ৫৯ সালে রেন্ট অ্যাক্ট পাশ করে তিনি রায়তদের খানিকটা সুবিধা দিয়েছিলেন। ১৮৫৭ সালে কলকাতা বোম্বাই এবং মাদ্রাজে তিনটি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছিলেন তিনি। ভারতীয় প্রশাসন ও আইনের ক্ষেত্রেও তিনি অবদান রেখেছিলেন উল্লেখযোগ্য কিছু সংস্কার করে।

৪. ১৮৫৭ -এর আগে পূর্ববঙ্গে ওয়াহাবী ও ফারায়েযী আন্দোলন শুরু হয়েছিলো। মূলতঃ ধর্মীয় আন্দোলন হলেও ফারায়েযী পরে কৃষক আন্দোলনে রূপ নেয়, এবং তা ছিল ইংরেজ বিরোধী।

আরবী 'ফরয' থেকে ফরাযী বা 'ফরায়েযী', শব্দের উদ্ভব। ফরয মানে কর্তব্য। এ মতবাদের প্রবক্তা হাজী শরীয়তউল্লাহ ছিলেন ফরিদপুরের অধিবাসী। মক্কায় দীর্ঘ দিন প্রবাস জীবন ও শিক্ষা শেষে নিজ গ্রামে ফিরে তিনি এই মতবাদ প্রচার শুরু করেন যার মূল অর্থ হলো ইসলামের মৌলিক রূপে ফিরে যাওয়া। কারণ ইসলামে তখন অনেক রীতিনীতি সংস্কার প্রবেশ করেছিলো যা হিন্দু ভাবাপন্ন। জমিদারদের উৎপীড়ন রোধেও তিনি আহ্বান জানিয়েছিলেন ।

১৮৪০ সালে শরীয়তউল্লার মৃত্যুর পর তাঁর পুত্র মোহসেন উদ্দিন বা দুদুমিয়া আন্দোলনের নেতৃত্ব গ্রহণ করেন এবং বলা যেতে পারে ফরায়েযী আন্দোলন তাঁর আমলেই পূর্ণতা লাভ করে। ইংরেজদের রিপোর্ট অনুযায়ী, দুদুমিয়া একটি স্বাধীন রাজ্য প্রতিষ্ঠা করতে চেয়েছিলেন।

এ আন্দোলন চলেছে ১৮৩৮ থেকে ১৮৪৭ পর্যন্ত। কিন্তু ফারায়ীদের সম্পর্কে আতঙ্ক যে কোম্পানী সরকারের দূর হয়নি তা সংবাদ থেকেই বোঝা যায়। ১৮৫৭ সালে সরকার দুদুমিয়াকে গ্রেফতার করে । মুক্তি দেয়া হয় ১৮৫৯ সালে । ফরায়ী আন্দোলন সম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, Muin- ud-din Ahmad Khan, *History of the Faraidi Movement*, Dhaka, 1984 (2nd ed).

৫. সমকালীন ইংরেজি সাপ্তাহিক।

৬. কলকাতা থেকে প্রকাশিত 'ইংলিশম্যান' ছিল নেটিভ বিদ্বেষী এবং পরিচিত ছিল তা প্ল্যানটার্স নিউজ পেপার নামে। এ কারণে ঢাকা নিউজ এ সংবাদে বিস্ময় প্রকাশ করেছে।

৭. উনিশ শতকের মধ্যভাগে 'হিন্দু প্যাট্রিয়ট', ছিল অত্যন্ত প্রভাবশালী পত্রিকা। হিন্দু প্যাটিয়টের জন্ম বৃত্তান্ত নিয়ে খানিকটা বিতর্ক আছে, তবে বিভিন্ন তথ্য বিশ্লেষণ করে বলা যেতে পারে- "১৮৫৩ খৃষ্টাব্দের আরম্ভে হিন্দ পেট্রিয়ট সংবাদপত্র কলিকাতা বড় বাজারের কালকার ষ্ট্রীটে শ্রীযুক্ত মধুসূদন রায় মহাশয়ের মুদ্রাযন্ত্র হইতে প্রথম প্রকাশিত হয়।" মধুসূদন গিরিশচন্দ্র ঘোষ কে পত্রিকার সম্পদনার দায়িত্ব দেন এবং অচিরেই পত্রিকাটি সবার দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করে। হরিশ্চন্দ্র মুখোপাধ্যায় কে হিন্দু পেট্রিয়ট- এ লেখার সুবিধা করে দেন গিরিশচন্দ্র।

পত্রিকার আর্থিক অবস্থা খারাপ হয়ে পড়লে হরিশন্দ্র এর মালিকানা কিনে নেন খুব সম্ভব ১৮৫৬ সালে। সম্পদনা ভারও তিনি গ্রহণ করেন এবং তাঁর আমলেই 'হিন্দু পেট্রিয়ট' প্রভাবশালী পত্রিকা হয়ে ওঠে। নীলকরদের বিপক্ষে এবং ইংরেজ সরকারের সমালোচনার প্রবল প্রবক্তা হয়ে ওঠে পেট্রিয়ট। ১৮৬১ সালে হরিশ্চন্দ্রের মৃত্যুর পর এর সম্পাদক হয়েছিলেন কৃষ্ণদাস পাল । বাকল্যান্ড জানিয়েছেন বাংলার লেঃ গভর্নর স্যার বিচার্ড টেম্পল পত্রিকাটি সম্পর্কে মন্তব্য করেছিলেন-

'This paper was the organ of the Bengal Zamindar and was in the main sustained by them but it had large circalution otherwise both among Europeans and Natives, being conducted with independence, loyalty and lenarning. " [বাকল্যান্ড, ১০৫৭-৫৯]

দেখুন, Benoy Ghose, *Selections from English Periodicals of 19th century Bengal*, vol vi, Calcutta, 1981.

রাম গোপাল সান্ন্যাল, হরিশ্চন্দ্র মুখোপাধ্যায়ের জীবনী, *এক্ষণ*, ৮ম বর্ষ, ৫ম সংখ্যা, পৌষ-মাঘ, ১৩৭৭।

হিন্দু প্যাট্রিয়টের রচনা সংকলনের জন্য দেখুন বিনয় ঘোষের প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থের তৃতীয়, চতুর্থ, পঞ্চম ও ষষ্ঠ খন্ড।

৮. ফলিস মিল। ১৮৪০ সালে অনামা এক শিল্পী বুড়িগঙ্গার তীরের ঘরবাড়ির এক ছবি এঁকেছিলেন। সেখানে একটি দালানকে উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে ঢাকা সুগার ওয়ার্কস কোম্পানী নামে। আধ্যাপক শরীফ উদ্দিনও জানিয়েছেন, সেখানে একটি চিনির কল প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হয়েছিলো কিন্তু তা চলেনি কোনদিন। ১৮৫০-এর দিকে তা বন্ধ হয়ে গিয়েছিলো। 'ঢাকা নিউজে' এর উল্লেখ পাই ময়দার কল হিসেবে। তাতে অনুমান করে নেয়া যেতে পারে, চিনির কলটি বন্ধ হয়ে যাওয়ার পর উইলিয়াম ফলি নামে এক ইংরেজ মিলটি কিনে স্থাপন করেছিলেন ময়দার কল এবং তখন তা পরিচিত ছিল ফলিস মিল নামে।

১৮৫৮ সালে, বিদ্রোহের পর কলকাতা থেকে সরকারি সৈন্য এসেছিলো ঢাকায় তাদের একাংশকে রাখা হয়েছিলোএখানে। আর্থার ক্লের সরকারি রিপোর্ট থেকে জানা যায়, পরবর্তী কালে সেনা বাহিনী রাখার জন্য ফলিস মিলটি সরকার কিনে নিয়েছিলেন এবং ১৮৬৭ সালে সরকারি নির্দেশে মিল [দালান] এবং তার আশেপাশের অঞ্চলকে ক্যান্টনমেন্ট হিসেবে ঘোষনা করা হয়েছিলো। সম্ভবত সেই সময় থেকেই দালানটি এবং এর আশেপাশের অঞ্চল পরিচিত হয়ে উঠে মিল ব্যারাক নামে।

মুনতাসীর মামুন, *ঢাকা ঃ স্মৃতি বিস্মৃতির নগরী*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৩।

৯. ১৭৯৮ সালে কলকাতা থেকে চার্লস ম্যাকলিনের সম্পাদনায় প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো 'Bengal Horkaru' ১৮৪৪-৮৩ পর্যন্ত এটি প্রকাশিত হতো 'Bengal Horkaru and the Indian Gazette নামে। হরকরা থেকে রচনা সংকলনের জন্য দেখুন, Benoy Ghose, *Selections from English Periodicals of 19th Century Bengal*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1978.

১০. এইচ, এল, ড্যাম্পিয়ার পরবর্তী কালে বাংলা সরকারের সচিব নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন (১৮৬৭-৭৭)।

১১. বাংলার প্রথম লেঃ গভর্নর স্যার ফ্রেডারিক জেমস হ্যালিডের শাসনকাল (১৮৫৪-৫৯) ঘটনা বহুল। তিনি ইংরেজ ও হিন্দু সম্প্রদায় দ্বারা সবসময়ই সমালোচিত হয়েছেন। ঢাকা নিউজ - এও হ্যালিডে প্রসঙ্গ বারবর এসেছে। তাই তাঁর সম্পর্কে খানিকটা বিস্তারিত বিবরণ দিচ্ছি।

১৮২৪ সালে তিনি বেঙ্গল সিভিল সার্ভিসে যোগ দেন। ১৮৪৯ সালে স্বরাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রালয়ের সচিব ও ১৮৫৩ সালে গভর্নর জেনারেলের কাউন্সিলের সদস্য মনোনীত হন। গভর্নর জেনারেল লর্ড ডালহৌসী তাঁকে লেঃ গবর্নর মনোনীত করে লিখেছিলেন- "The fittest man in the service of the Hon'ble Company to hold this great and most important office is, in my opinion, our colleague, the Honble F. J. Halliday ."

তাঁর সময়ে ইংরেজি বা দেশীয় ভাষায় সেক্যুলার শিক্ষার উপর জোর দেয়া হয়, স্থাপিত হয় কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহ সংগঠিত হয় তাঁর সময়ে। বিধবা বিবাহ আইন পাশ করা হয় হ্যালিডের উদ্যোগে। পুলিশ বাহিনীর উন্নয়নেও নজর দেয়া হয়।

হ্যালিডের আমলে বড় ঘটনা ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ যার বিস্তারিত বিবরণ এখানে লিপিবদ্ধ হয়েছে।

হ্যালিডে সম্পর্কে ইংরেজরা কি ভাবতেন তাঁর খানিকটা পরিচয় পাওয়া যাবে ঢাকা নিউজ- এর বিভিন্ন সংবাদ ও নিবন্ধে। হিন্দু সম্প্রদায় কি ভাবতেন তার উদাহরণ পাওয়ার যাবে- হিন্দু প্যাট্রিয়ট ও অন্যান্য পত্রিকায়। ব্লেয়ার ক্লিং লিখেছেন–

"Halliday was extremely unpopular with the Hindu community of Calcutta which refused to sign the customary eulogistic address on his departure from India The Hindoo Patriot commented that his carrer was "remarkable for selfishness aggravated by intense meanness for insolent blunder, systematic insincerity, his supply of a proposal to introduce Bible study into Government schools, his indulgence of the indigo planters, and, above all, his support of the Rent Act of 1859."

বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন–

C. E. Bucklend, *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors* , vol. I, Delhi, 1976 (Reprint), pp 1-162.

Blair B Kling ,*The Blue Mutiny*, Calcutta, 1977.

১২. এ যুদ্ধের বর্ণনা বিভিন্ন জন দিয়েছেন বিভিন্ন ভাবে। তবে, ইংরেজ পক্ষের একজন কমান্ডার লেঃ লুইসের ও ভলানটিয়ারদের ভাষ্যের জন্য দেখুন,

C. R. Law, *History of the Indian Navy*, vol ii, London, 1877

১৩. ইংরেজ পক্ষে যারা লড়াই করেছিলেন তাদের মধ্যে আর্থার মেয়ে 7 ছাড়া কেউ-ই-কোন সামরিক পদক পান নি। সি, আর, ল, এ প্রসঙ্গে, লিখেছেন–

But the gallant Commander of the Naval Brigade, who had been wounded at Dacca and again on this occasion [Assam] , received no reward and died plain Lieutenant Lewis, while Lieutenant (now retired commander) Davies, familiarly known in the service as " Pat" Davies, has been permitted to linger on in constant suffering from his wound, after having served his country with brilliant courage and devotion at Mooltan, in Burmah, China and India, either of these officers been in Royal service, it is not too much to say that they would have received promotion and the C, B."

C, R, Law, *opcit* p . 452.

১৪. ১৭৯৩ সালে লর্ড কর্নওয়ালিস বাংলা, বিহার, উড়িষ্যায় প্রবর্তন করেছিলেন চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত। ভূমি ব্যবস্থা ও রাজস্ব সংক্রান্ত এই আইনের মূল কথা ছিল ভূমির ওপর জমিদারদের নিরংকুশ

মালিকানা স্বীকার। শর্ত ছিল শুধু জমিদার নির্দিষ্ট সময়ে সরকারকে নির্দিষ্ট পরিমাণ খাজনা প্রদান করেবেন। এ ভূমি ব্যবস্থা বাংলার অর্থ সামাজিক রাজনৈতিক জীবনে প্রচন্ড অভিঘাতের সৃষ্টি করেছিলো। চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের ওপর প্রচুর গবেষণা হয়েছে। তবে সংহত বিবরণ ও বিশ্লেষনের জন্য দেখুন-

Ranajit *Guha, A Rule of Property for Bengal*, Calcutta, 1982.
Serajul Islam, *The Permanent Settlement in Bengal*, Dacca, 1979.
বদরুদ্দীন উমর, *চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তে বাংলাদেশের কৃষক*, ঢাকা।
মুনতাসীর মামুন (সম্পাদিত), *চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত ও বাঙালি সমাজ*, ঢাকা, ১৯৭৬।

১৫. লর্ড কর্নওয়ালিস (১৭৩৮-১৮০৫) ১৭৮১ সালে, আমেরিকার স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ চলাকালীন ইয়র্কটাউনের দায়িত্বে ছিলেন। তাঁর আত্মসমর্পনে লুপ্ত হয়েছিলো যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্য। ১৭৮৬ সালে তিনি নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন ভারতবর্ষের গভর্নর জেনারেল হিসেবে। ১৭৯৩ সাল পর্যন্ত ছিলেন এ পদে। ১৮০৫ সালে আবার নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন এ পদে কিন্তু পরলোকগমন করেছিলেন কিছুদিনের মধ্যে। ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্য বিস্তারে তাঁর ভূমিকা ছিল কিন্তু তার অভ্যন্তরীণ বিভিন্ন সংস্কারগুলি ছিল সুদুর প্রসারী যার মধ্যে চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত ছিল অন্যতম।

১৬. ১৮৫১ সালে গঠিত হয়েছিলো ইন্ডিগো প্ল্যান্টার্স অ্যাসোসিয়েসন। এটি গঠন করার একটি উদ্দেশ্য ছিল –

" to urge the passage of new sale law to protect under tenures. " [P, 57] লন্ডনে ও তারা লবিষ্ট নিয়োগ করেছিলো। ক্লিং লিখেছেন—

"Attempts had been made to organize the Indigo planters since 1816 , but it was not until 1851 that the able barrister, William Theobald , created an effective organization from the disparate elements with indigo interests in Bengal as Secretary of the Indigo Planters Association from 1851 until his resignation in 1860, Theolbald organized the planters in the mufassal united them with the proprietors of large concerns, indigo brokers partners in mercantile houses, and of Calcutta. Theobalds' major task was to maintain an equilibrium between the Calcutta group and the planters. But while the twelve member Central Committee included representative of all these groups, the planters, busy producing indigo dye, visited Calcutta and sat in the Country Committee, only in December. The planters, were, for the most part, narrow in their interests and indifferent to larger political issues. The city members to the other hand, were interested in the problems of all European settlers and anxious to broaden the orgaaizntion to include all Europeans engaged in enterprise, in the *mufassal*."

ক্লিংয়ের *প্রাগুক্ত* গ্রন্থ, পৃ. ১১১-১১২।

১৭. জন পিটার গ্রান্ট (১৮০৭-৯৩) ছিলেন বাংলার দ্বিতীয় লেফটেন্যান্ট গবর্নর। কর্মভার গ্রহণ করেছিলেন ১ নভেম্বর ১৮৫৮ সালে। একত্রিশ বছর প্রশাসনের বিভিন্ন পদে চাকুরির পর তিনি এ নিযুক্তি পেয়েছিলেন। ১৮৬২ সাল পর্যন্ত ছিলেন এ পদে। গ্রান্ট সম্পর্কে বলা হয়েছে–

Grant is described as combining an idolent sleepy manners, with extraordinary activity of mind; and of having large and liberal views but, 'retiring and inaccessible habits. His report were considered the best state papers recorded by the government of the day, he was able to uncover the questions which lay at the heart of complex issues and to argue his case with irrefutable logic দেখুন, ক্লিংয়ের *প্রাগুক্ত* গ্রন্থ, পৃ. ৭৩-৭৪।

নীল কমিশন গঠিত হয়েছিলো তাঁর আমলে। গ্রান্টের শাসনকাল সর্ম্পকে বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, বাকল্যান্ডের *প্রাগুক্তগ্রন্থ*, প্রথম খন্ড, পৃ. ১৬৩-২৯১।

১৮. পিটার গ্রান্ট, হ্যালিডের সময় লেঃ গভর্নরের কাউন্সিলের সদস্য ছিলেন এবং ১৮৫৫ সালের ডিসেম্বরে এ বিলটি উথাপন করেন যার মূল কথা ছিল খাজনা আদায়ে জমি বিক্রি সংক্রান্ত। ১৮৫৬

সালের ৩০ এপ্রিল বিলটি পাশ হয়। এর পুরো শিরোনাম, Act xi of 1859 (to improve the law relating to sales of land for arrears of revenue in the Lower Provinces under the Bengal Presidency)" । বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, ঐ।

১৯. লেঃ গভর্নর হ্যালিডে বিশ্বাস করতেন , মফস্বলে ইংরেজদের কর্ম তৎপরতার উপর নির্ভর করে বাংলার উন্নয়ন। ইউরোপীয়ান বা প্ল্যান্টারদের মফস্বলে অবৈতনিক ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট হিসেবে নিয়োগ দানের জন্য তাই বহুদিন থেকে দেন দরবার চলছিলো। ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে তিনি ১ লা আগষ্ট ১৮৫৭ থেকে ১ লা ফেব্রুয়ারি ১৮৫৯ পর্যন্ত ২৯ জন নীলকর ও একজন ভারতীয় জমিদারকে অবৈতনিক ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট নিয়োগ করেছিলেন। ক্লিংয়ের মতে, "Although the honorary magistrates seldom overtly abused their powers, the very existence of those powers did much intimidate all sections of Indian society in the mufassal." ক্লিংয়ের *প্রাগুক্তগ্রন্থ*, পৃঃ ৬৭।

২০. দ্বারকানাথ ঠাকুর (১৭৯৪-১৮৪৬) ছিলেন রেঁনেসা মানব। কলকাতার বিখ্যাত জোড়াসাকোঁর ঠাকুর বাড়ির প্রতিষ্ঠতা নীলমণি ঠাকুরের পৌত্র। তাঁর পিতার নাম রামমণি ঠাকুর ও মাতা মেনকা দেবী। দ্বারকানাথের বড় চাচা রামলোচন তাঁকে দত্তক নিয়েছিলেন।

দ্বারকানাথ ইংরেজি শিখেছিলেন, সুপ্রিম কোর্টের ব্যবহারজীবী ছিলেন, কোম্পানীর অধীনে দেওয়ানের চাকরিও করেছিলেন। পৈত্রিক সম্পত্তি ছাড়াও তিনি নিজে অনেক জমিদারী কিনেছিলেন।

ইউনিয়ন ব্যাংকের (১৮২৯) প্রতিষ্ঠাতা ছিলেন তিনি, কয়েকটি বীমা কোম্পানীর অংশীদারও ছিলেন। ইউরোপীয়ানদের সঙ্গে মিলে কার-ঠাকুর কোম্পানীর নামে একটি বাণিজ্য কুঠিও প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছিলেন। বাঙালিদের মধ্যে তিনিই প্রথম রানীগঞ্জ কয়লাখনিতে বিনিয়োগ করেছিলেন। তাঁর নিজের কয়েকটি জাহাজ ছিল। ভারতের অভ্যন্তরে বাষ্পীয় পোত চলাচলে তিনিও ছিলেন উদ্যোগী।

রামমোহন রায়ের আত্মীয়সভার সভার ছিলেন তিনি একজন সভ্য। অ্যাংলো- হিন্দু স্কুলেরও ছিলেন প্রধান পৃষ্ঠাপোষক। মুদ্রাযন্ত্রের স্বাধীনতা খর্ব হলে যেকজন বাঙালি সুপ্রীম কোর্টে বিচার প্রার্থী হয়েছিলেন দ্বারকানাথ ছিলেন তার মধ্যে একজন। 'বেঙ্গল হেরাল্ড' 'হরকরা' ও 'বঙ্গদূত' এ তিনটি সংবাদপত্রের স্বত্বাধিকারী/অংশীদার ছিলেন। কলকাতা মেডিক্যাল কলেজ স্থাপনে তিনি ছিলেন একজন উদ্যোক্তা। ক্যালকাটা পাবলিক লাইব্রেরি প্রতিষ্ঠায়ও পালন করেন অগ্রণী ভূমিকা। উনিশ শতকের বাংলার বিভিন্ন সামাজিক সংস্কারের তিনি ছিলেন উদ্যোগী পুরুষ। পরলোকগমন করেন তিনি ইংল্যান্ডে।

দেখুন Blair Kling, *Partner in Empire*, Calcutta, 1981; K.G. Mitra, *Memoir of Dwarakanath Tagore*, Calcutta, 1880.

২১. ভারতের গভর্ণর জেনারেল লর্ড বেন্টিংক ১৮২৯ সালে আইন করে সতীদাহ প্রথা রহিত করেন। দেশীয়দের মধ্যে তাঁকে এ কাজে সমর্থন ও সহয়তা প্রদান করেন রামমোহন রায়।

দেখুন বিনয়ভূষণ রায়, *বাংলার সতীদাহ সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক মূল্যায়ন*, কলকাতা, ১৯৮৬।

২২. রবীন্দ্রনাথ রামমোহন রায়কে আখ্যা দিয়েছিলেন ভারত-পথিক। ভারতবর্ষের প্রথম আধুনিক মনের মানুষ রামমোহন (১৭৭২-১৮৩৩)। তাঁর পিতার নাম রামকান্ত, জন্ম হুগলীতে। পিতামাতার সঙ্গে মত বিরোধ হওয়ায় গৃহত্যাগ করেন। নানাস্থানে ঘুরে রংপরে কোম্পানীর দেওয়ান হিসেবে ১৮০৫-১৮১৪ পর্যন্ত কাজ করেন। ১৮১৫ থেকে কলকাতায় স্থায়ীভাবে বসবাস শুরু করে সমাজ সংস্কারে মন দেন। তাঁর প্রথম প্রকাশিত গ্রন্থ ফারসীতে তুহ্ ফাতুল মুবা'হ্হীদীন (১৮০৩)। প্রথমে 'আত্মীয়সভা' এবং পরে ব্রাহ্মসমাজ তিনিই প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন। বাংলা, ইংরেজি ও ফারসী সাময়িকপত্র তিনি প্রকাশ করেছিলেন। মুঘল সম্রাট ১৮৩০ সালে রাজা উপাধি দিয়ে তাকে লন্ডন পাঠিয়ছিলেন তাঁর দূত হিসেবে। সেখানেই ১৮৩২ সালে তিনি মৃত্যুবরণ করেন। সুকুমার সেন লিখেছেন—

"তিনিই প্রথম ব্যক্তি যিনি ভারতবর্ষকে আগাইয়া যাইবার পথ নির্দেশ করিয়াছিলেন। তিনিই আমাদের দেশের প্রথম লিঙ্গুয়িষ্ট বাংলা গদ্যের তিনি জনক-এই অর্থে যে তিনিই প্রথম বাংলা গদ্যে স্বীয় স্বাধীন চিন্তা লিপিবদ্ধ করেন এবং তাহার ভাষা কোনও গ্রন্থের অনুবাদগন্ধী নয়। স্বাধীনচিত্ততা প্রকাশে তাঁহার জুড়ি নাই।"

দেখুন - প্রভাতকুমার মুখোপাধ্যায়, *রামমোহন ও তৎকালীন সমাজ ও সাহিত্য*, কলকাতা, ১৯৭২। সৌমেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, *ভারতের শিল্প বিপ্লব ও রামমোহন*, কলকাতা, ১৯৬৩।

নগেন্দ্রনাথ চট্টোপাধ্যায়, *মহাত্মা রাজা রামমোহন রায়ের জীবনচরিত*, কলকাতা, ১৩৮৯।

ক্ষিতিমোহন সেনশস্ত্রী, *রামমোহন ও ভারতীয় মধ্যযুগের সাধনা, কলকাতা*, ১৩৮৯।

২৩. আনন্দমোহন দাস ছিলেন ঢাকা কলেজের প্রাক্তন ছাত্র এবং কলেজিয়েট স্কুলের শিক্ষক। সরকারি স্কুলে ব্যায়াধিক্যের কারণে যেসব ছাত্ররা পড়াশোনা করতে পারছিলোনা তাদের জন্য স্কুল স্থাপিত হয়েছিলো যার নাম ছিল The Bangla Bazar Anglo- Vernacular School. পরের বছর স্কুলটি সরকারি সাহায্য পেয়েছিলো।

Sharifuddin Ahmed, *Dacca*, London, 1986.

২৪. ১৮৪৮ থেকে ১৮৫৬ সাল পর্যন্ত লর্ড ডালহৌসী ছিলেন ভারতের গভর্নর জেনারেল। তাঁর শাসনকালও খ্যাত সাম্রাজ্য বিস্তারের জন্য। যুদ্ধ ও তাঁর উদ্ভাবিত 'স্বত্ববিলোপ' নীতির মাধ্যমে তিনি বিস্তার করেছিলেন বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্য। এ নীতিতে বলা হয়েছিলো ভারতে বৃটিশ সৃষ্ট রাজ্যগুলির রাজারা উত্তরাধিকারীহীন হিসেবে পরলোকগমন করলে সে রাজ্য কোম্পানীর অন্তর্ভুক্ত হবে। এ ক্ষেত্রে দত্তকপুত্রের অধিকার স্বীকার করে নেয়া হবে না। তবে, ডালহৌসি অভ্যন্তরীণ উন্নতির জন্য কিছু পদক্ষেপ নিয়েছিলেন। বাংলা শাসনভার অর্পণ করেছিলেন একজন লেফটেন্যান্ট গভর্ণরের হাতে (১৮৫৪)। গঠন করেছিলেন গণপূর্ত বিভাগ, স্থাপন করেছিলেন রেল, টেলিগ্রাফ এবং উন্নত করেছিলেন ডাক বিভাগ। কলকাতা, বোম্বে, মাদ্রাজে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় স্থাপনের প্রাথমিক পদক্ষেপও গ্রহণ করেছিলেন।

২৫. ঢাকায় স্ত্রী শিক্ষা প্রসারে অগ্রণী ভূমিকা নিয়েছিলেন ব্রাহ্মরা। তাদের উদ্যোগেই ঢাকায় মেয়েদের প্রথম স্কুলটি স্থাপিত হয়। ১৮৫৬ সালে অন্নদামোহন দাস, ইনসপেকটর অফ স্কুল দীনবন্ধু মল্লিক, ঢাকা কলেজের প্রিন্সিপাল ব্রেনান্ড ও কলেজিয়েট স্কুলের হেডমাস্টার এফ.টিডের উদ্যোগে ২২ জন ছাত্রী নিয়ে যাত্রা শুরু করে বাংলা বাজার ফিমেল স্কুল।

শরীফউদ্দিন আহমদের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ*, পৃ. ৭০।

২৬. রবার্ট ক্লাইভ (১৭২৫-১৭৭৪) বাংলায় ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর-শাসন পত্তন করেছিলেন। কোম্পানীর রাইটার হিসেবে তিনি ভারতবর্ষে আসেন, তাবপর সেনাবাহিনীতে যোগ দেন। কর্নাটকের চান্দা সাহেব কে ১৭৫০ সালে পরাজিত করার পর তিনি কোম্পানীর কর্মকর্তাদের নজরে আসেন।

১৭৫৭ সালে ক্লাইভ ও ওয়াটসন সিরাজউদদৌলার অধিকার থেকে কলকাতা দখল করে নেন এবং জুন ১৭৫৭ সালে পলাশীর যুদ্ধে সিরাজউদদৌলাকে পরাজিত করে বাংলায় কোম্পানীর কর্তৃত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন। তাঁকে বাংলার গভর্নর নিযুক্ত করা হয়েছিলো। ১৭৬০ সালে তিনি ইংল্যান্ড ফিরে যান, লাভ করেন লর্ড উপাধি। কোম্পানীর পরিচালকরা ১৭৯৫ সালে আবার তাঁকে বাংলার গভর্ণর ও সেনাধ্যক্ষ করে পাঠান। ১৭৬৭ সালে অবসর নিয়ে ফিরে যান। স্বদেশে তাঁকে বিভিন্ন অপকর্মের জন্যে অভিযুক্ত করা হয়। অভিযোগ করা হয়ে যে অবৈধভাবে তিনি ২৩৪,০০০ পাউন্ড অর্জন করেছেন। এসব অভিযোগের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ক্লাইভ আত্মহত্যা করেন। দেখুন, Percival Spear, *Master of Bengal, Clive and His India*, London, 1975.

২৭. নবাব আলীবর্দী খাঁর দৌহিত্র সিরাজউদদৌলা বাংলার নবাব ছিলেন এপ্রিল ১৭৫৬ থেকে জুন ১৮৫৭ অব্দি। পলাশীর যুদ্ধে তাঁর পরাজয়ের পরই বাংলায় ইস্টইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানার কর্তৃত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় ২ জুলাই ১৭৫৭ সালে। মীরজাফরের ছেলে মীরন তাঁকে হত্যা করে।

বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, রজত কান্তি রায়, *পলাশীর ষড়যন্ত্র ও সেকালের সমাজ*, কলকাতা, ১৯৯৪।

মৃনাল চক্রবর্তী, *সিরাজ উদদৌলা*, কলকাতা, ১৯৮১; Brijen K. Gupta, *Siraj-ud-dulah and the East India Company*, Leiden, 1962.
Sushil Chaudhury, Nawab Sirajuddaula and Battle of Palashi, Sirajul Islam (ed) *History of Bangladesh* , vol I, Dhaka, 1992.

২৮. রানী প্রথম এলিজাবেথের সনদ নিয়ে ১৬০০ সালে গঠিত হয় ইষ্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানী। কোম্পানীর বাণিজ্য জাহাজ প্রথম নোঙ্গর করে ১৬০৮ সালে সুরাটে, ১৬৬১ সালে রাজা দ্বিতীয় চার্লস পর্তুগীজদের কাছ থেকে যৌতুক হিসেবে বোম্বাই লাভ করেন এবং কোম্পানীকে তা বাৎসরিক ১০ পাউন্ডে ইজারা দিয়ে দেন। এ ভাবে, বোম্বাইকে কেন্দ্র করে পশ্চিম ভারতে কোম্পানীর আধিপত্য বিস্তৃত হয়। ১৬৯০ সালে জব চার্নক কলকাতার পত্তন করলে, কলকাতাকে কেন্দ্র করে পূর্ব ভারতে কোম্পানীর আধিপত্য বিস্তৃত হয় এবং এক সময় কলকাতা কোম্পানীর কেন্দ্র হয়ে ওঠে। ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহের পর ভারতবর্ষে কোম্পানীর কর্তৃত্ব অবলুপ্ত হয় ও বৃটেনের রাজা/ রানীর কর্তৃত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হয়।

দেখুন, C. H. Philips, *The East India Company* (1784-1834), Manchester, 1961.
Phillip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History*, London, 1993.

২৯. ইন্ডিয়ান সিভিল সার্ভিসের সদস্যদের 'কমপিটিশনঅলা' নামে আখ্যা দেয়া হয়েছিলো আর ইংরেজ ব্যবসায়ীদের 'বক্স অলা'।

৩০. স্যার রবার্ট পিল (১৭৮৮-১৮৫০) ১৮৩৪, ১৮৩৯ এবং ১৮৪১-৪৬ সাল পর্যন্ত ছিলেন বৃটেনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী। ১৮৩৯ সালে তিনি বৃটেনে নিয়মিত পুলিশ বাহিনী গঠন করে ছিলেন।

৩১. শ্রীরামপুরে যে মিশনারী গোষ্ঠী বাংলা ভাষা-সাহিত্য ও মিশনারী কর্মকান্ডের জন্য বিখ্যাত সে গোষ্ঠীর অন্যতম ছিলেন জন ক্লার্ক মার্শম্যান (১৭৯৪-১৮৭৭), তাঁর পিতা ডঃ জোসুয়া মার্শম্যান। তিনি 'দিগ দর্শণ', 'সমাচার দর্পন', 'ফ্রেন্ড অফ ইন্ডিয়া' ও 'গভর্ণমেন্ট গেজেট' সম্পাদনা করেছিলেন। ১৮৫২ সালে স্বদেশ ফিরে তিনি বেশ কটি গ্রন্থ রচনা করেন যার মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য - *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, Outline of the History of Bengal* প্রভৃতি।

৩২. ১৮০৫ সালে ইংল্যান্ডে প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হয়েছিলো কলেজটি। ১৮৫৫ সালে পূর্ব পর্যন্ত ভারতে যারা কোম্পানীর চাকুরে বা সিভিলিয়ন হয়ে আসতেন তাদের দু'বছর এ কলেজে প্রশিক্ষণ নিতে হতো।

৩৩. আব্দুল লতিফ [খান বাহাদুর, নবাব, সি. আই. ই; ১৮২৮-১৮৯৩] জন্মেছিলেন ফরিদপুরে। ভারতীয় মুসলমানদের ইংরেজ সহযোগিতার মাধ্যমে উন্নতির পথ প্রশস্ত করার ব্যাপারে অবদান রেখেছেন। কর্মজীবনের শুরুতে কলকাতা মাদ্রাসায় অধ্যাপনা করেছিলেন কিছুদিন। তারপর যোগ দিয়েছিলেন সরকারি চাকুরিতে। খুলনার কালোরোয়ায় ডেপুটি ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট থাকাকালীন ১৮৫৩ সালে প্রথম তিনি নীলকরদের বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করে দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছিলেন। বিভিন্ন পদে কাজ করার পর অবসর গ্রহণের আগে তিনিই ভারতীয়দের মধ্যে 'সর্ব্বোচ্চ পদ ও বেতনের অধিকারী' হয়েছিলেন। বঙ্গীয় ব্যবস্থাপক সভার সদস্য হয়েছিলেন ১৮৬৩ সালে। মুসলমানদের শিক্ষা প্রসার ও উন্নতির জন্য ঐ বছরই মহামেডান লিটাররী সোসাইটি স্থাপনে সহায়তা করেছিলেন। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন— Md. Mohar Ali (ed) *Nawab Abdul Latif Khan Bahadur, Autobiography and Other Writings*, Chittagong, 1968.

৩৪, ১৮৪২-৪৪ সাল পর্যন্ত ছিলেন ভারতের গভর্নর জেনারেল।

৩৫. স্যার সিসিল বিডন (১৮১৬) কোম্পানীর চাকরিতে যোগ দেন ১৮৩৭ সালে পাটনায় অ্যাসিস্ট্যান্ট হিসেবে। বিভিন্ন পদে তিনি যোগ্যতার সঙ্গে চাকরি করেছেন। লর্ড হার্ডিঞ্জ, লর্ড ডালহৌসী, লর্ড ক্যানিঙ সবাই তাঁর সম্পর্কে উচ্চ ধারনা পোষন করতেন। ক্যানিঙই তাঁকে লেঃ গভর্নর হিসেবে

মনোনীত করে যান এবং ১৮৬২ সালে তিনি এই পদলাভ করেন।লেঃ গভর্নর হিসেবে বাংলা শাসন করেন তিনি ১৮৬৭ পর্যন্ত। ক্যালকাটা রিভিউ তাঁর সম্পর্কে মন্তব্য করেছিলো—

"We are told that there will never again be a civilian Lieutenant- Governor of Bengal. However this may be, we feel assured that Bengal will be administred by many Governors or Lieutenant-Governor before it is ruled over by one worthier than Sir Cecil Beadon.'

বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন বাকল্যান্ডের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ।*

৩৬. বাংলাদেশের শিক্ষা-সংস্কৃতি প্রসারে যে সব ইংরেজ মিশনারী অবদান রেখেছিলেন তাঁদের মধ্যে রেভারেন্ড জেমস লঙ অন্যতম। ১৮৪০ সালে তিনি এসেছিলেন কলকাতায় এবং শিক্ষকতা ও গ্রন্থ রচনার কাজে নিযুক্ত করেছিলেন নিজেকে। বাংলা মুদ্রণের আদি ইতিহাস জানাতে হলে জেমস লঙ কৃত তালিকার স্মরণাপন্ন হওয়া ছাড়া গতি নেই। তালিকাগুলি হলো—

Returns Relating to Natuve Printing Presses and Publications in Bengal 1853-54; A Return of the Names and Writing of 515 Persons Connected with Bengali Literature (1855); A Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works (1855) ইত্যাদি।

তিন খন্ডে সংগৃহীত প্রবাদমালার সংকলন তাঁর উল্লেখযোগ্য কৃতিত্ব। ১৮৬১ সালে দীনবন্ধু মিত্রের নীলদর্পণ, ইংরেজি অনুবাদ করে কারাদন্ডে দন্ডিত হয়েছিলেন। তাঁকে নিয়ে সেই সময় ছড়া বাধা হয়েছিলো— নীল বানরে সোনার বাংলা করলে ছারখার— অকালে হরিণ মলো লঙ এর হল কারাগার। জেমস লঙ ও বাংলা মুদ্রণ শিল্পে তাঁর অবদানের জন্য দেখুন, চিত্তরঞ্জন বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত, *দুই শতকের বাংলা মুদ্রণ ও প্রকাশন*, কলকাতা, ১৯৮১।

৩৭. ষোড়শ শতকে ইউরোপে প্রতি সংস্কার (Counter Reformation) আন্দোলনে যে মিশনারি সংঘ ক্যাথলিক মত প্রচারে বেশি সাহায্য করেছিলো তার নাম জেসুইট সংঘ। এর প্রাতষ্ঠাতা ছিলেন একজন স্পেনীয় ইগনাৎসিউস লয়োলা (১৪৯১-১৫৪৬)। শিক্ষা ও সমাজমূলক কাজে জেসুইট সংঘ বিশেষ খ্যাতি অর্জন করেছিলো।

৩৮. ঢাকার প্রথম বাণিজ্যিক ব্যাংক ঢাকা ব্যাংক। ১৮৪৬ সালে ঢাকা নিবাসী জমিদার, নীলকর, সিভিলিয়ানরা প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছিলেন ব্যাংকটি। এর উদ্যোক্তা ছিলেন ঢাকার তত্ত্বাবধায়ক সার্জন ল্যাম্ব , বর্গী দমনের সহকারি তত্ত্বাবধায়ক এইচ, এম, নেশন, জমিদার খাজা আলিমউল্লাহ্ ও জে. পি. ওয়াইজ, উকিল নন্দলাল দত্ত, কমিশনার জন ডানবার, ঢাকার সিভিল সার্জন টি. ওয়াইজ ও খাজা আবদুল গনি। ব্যাংকের প্রথম ট্রাষ্টি সচিব ছিলেন আলেকজান্ডার ফরবেস। ইনি প্রথমে কাজ করতেন দ্বারকানাথের কোম্পানীতে। পরে সম্পাদনা করেছিলেন ঢাকার প্রথম সংবাদপত্র 'ঢাকা নিউজ'। ব্যাংকের প্রস্তাবিত মূলধন ছিল ৫০০,০০০। প্রতিটি শেয়ারের দাম ছিল এক হাজার টাকা করে। তবে, বিনিয়োগকৃত মূলধন ছিল ৩০০, ০০০। অবশ্য অন্য আরেকটি সূত্রে জানা যায় বিনিয়োগকৃত মূলধন ছিল চারলক্ষ টাকা এবং মনে হয় তাই সঠিক।

দশবছর পর শেয়ার হোল্ডারদের অনেকে যারা ঢাকার বাইরে থাকেন তাঁরা শেয়ার বিক্রি করে দিতে চাইলেন। এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ১৮৫৬ সালে ব্যাংকটি নতুনভাবে ঢেলে সাজানো হলো। নতুন পরিচালকরা হলেন— খাজা আবদুল গনি, জে.পি. ওয়াইজ, আর জি. কার্নেগী, জে. জি. এন. পোগজ, মৃত্যুঞ্জয় দত্ত, দীননাথ ঘোষ, উইলিয়াম ফলি এবং মধুসূদন দাস। সচিব ছিলেন আলেকজান্ডার ফরবেস। পরে জি. এম. রেইলি।

ইতোমধ্যে প্রেসিডেন্সী বিভাগে প্রতিষ্ঠাতা ছিলো ব্যাংক অফ বেঙ্গল। তাদের শাখা ছিল রেঙ্গুন, পাটনা, ঢাকা, মির্জাপুর ও বেনারসে। সরকারের ইচ্ছায়, পূর্বাঞ্চলে তাদের অবস্থান দৃঢ় করতে ব্যাংক অফ বেঙ্গলের পরিচালকরা ঢাকা ব্যাংক কিনে নেয় এবং এর পরিবর্তে শেয়ার হোল্ডারদের ব্যাংক অফ বেঙ্গলের ২৯০, ৯৯৯ টাকায় শেয়ার দেওয়া হয়। দেখুন—

শরীফ উদ্দিন আহমদের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ।*

G.P. Symes Scutt, *The History of the Bank of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1904.

৩৯. ঢাকা-কলকাতা যোগাযোগ স্থাপনের জন্য গঠিত হয়েছিলো ইস্টার্ন বেঙ্গল রেলওয়ে কোম্পানী। কলকাতা কুষ্টিয়া রেল লাইন পাতা হয়ে গেলে নারায়ণগঞ্জ কুষ্টিয়ার মধ্যে স্টীমার সার্ভিস চালু করা হয় যার নাম ছিল 'পদ্মা স্টিমার সার্ভিসেস।'

৪০. ঢাকায় প্রথম রেলওয়ে চালু হয় ৪ জানুয়ারি, ১৮৮৫ সালে। ঢাকা নারায়ণগঞ্জ রুটে প্রথম লাইন বসানো হয়।

দেখুন, S.N.M. Rizvi (ed). *Bangladesh Distict Gazetteer: Dacca*. Dacca. 1975.

৪১. ১৮৫৭ সালের ২৪ ফেব্রুয়ারি গৌরীশঙ্কর তর্কবাগীশ 'হিন্দু রত্নকমলাকর' নামে একটি সাপ্তাহিক পত্রিকা প্রকাশ করেন কলকাতা থেকে। পত্রিকাটি আবেদন জানিয়েছিলো এ বলে- "সর্ব্ব সাধারণ হিন্দুগণ প্রতি আবেদন। ধর্ম্মপরায়ণ হিন্দু মহাশয়গণ এই বিজ্ঞাপনে দৃষ্টি রোপণ করুন, উপস্থিত কাল কালরূপে উপস্থিত হইয়াছে,এই বিশাল কাল ধর্ম গ্রাসে কালরেখা ধারণ করিযাছে, কালভয়ে হিন্দু জাতির ধর্ম্মদেহে শির কম্পন হইতেছে. কালবলে বিজাতীয় ধর্ম্মপাল ভূপালগণ হিন্দু রাজ্যে রাজ্যেশ্বর হইয়াছেন, তাঁহারা হিন্দু ধর্ম্মের অনুকূল নহেন, প্রতিকূল হইয়া হিন্দু কূলকে ব্যাকুল করিতেছেন, হিন্দু ধর্ম্মের বিনাশার্থ নাস্তিকতার স্বস্ত্যয়ন করেন..... এমত ঘোরতব ভয়ানক সময়ে একখানি সমাচারপত্র দেখিতে পাই না হিন্দু ধর্ম পক্ষে একটি কথা কহিয়া উপকার করে। এই সকল দেখিয়া শুনিয়া মান্যবর হিন্দু মহাশযদিগের উপদেশ ক্রমে আমরা 'হিন্দু রত্নকমলা কর' প্রকাশ কবিলাম...."

৪২. সৈযদ বেয়াজতুল্লাহ্‌র সম্পাদনায় ও নওযাব আবদুল লতিফের তত্ত্বাবধানে ফারসী সাপ্তাহিক 'দূরবীণ' প্রকাশিত হয় কলকাতা থেকে ১৮৫৩ সালে।

ব্রজেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, *বাংলা সাময়িকপত্র*, কলকাতা, ১৩৭৯।

৪৩. বৃটিশ আমলে ঢাকার সঙ্গে ওতপ্রোতভাবে জড়িয়ে আছে ঢাকাব নবাব আবদুল গনি (১৮৩০-৯৬) ও তাঁর পুত্র নবাব আহসান উল্লাহর নাম। এ পরিবারের বৈশিষ্ট্য হলো এই যে, ঢাকায় তারা বসবাস করেছেন আজীবন এবং পরালোকগমনও করেছিলেন ঢাকায়। ঢাকা শহর উন্নয়নেও তাঁরা যথেষ্ট দান করেছিলেন অন্তত সমসাময়িকদেব তুলনায়।

গনি মিয়া, আবদুল গনি বা পরবর্তীকালে নবাব গনি উনিশ শতকের শেষ পঞ্চাশ বছরে ছিলেন পূর্ববঙ্গের সবচেয়ে প্রভাবশালী ব্যক্তিত্ব। এর কারণ যে শুধু তিনি ছিলেন একজন বড় জমিদার তা নয়, আরেকটি কারণ হলো, ইংরেজশাসকদের সঙ্গে তাঁর সু-সম্পর্ক। এ সম্পর্ক ও সম্পদের কারণে, তাঁদের পক্ষে সম্ভব হয়েছিলো শুধু নিজ জমিদারির প্রজাদেরই নয়। ঢাকাবাসীদের ও একরকম নিয়ন্ত্রণ করা। সামাজিক ভাবে ঢাকাবাসীদের (প্রধানত মুসলমানদের) তিনি নিয়ন্ত্রণ করতেন পঞ্চায়েতের মাধ্যমে। তাঁর বাসভবন আহসান মঞ্জিলে রীতিমতো বসতো দরবার।

বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, মুনতাসীর মামুন, 'ঢাকাব কাগুজে নবাব', *হৃদয়নাথের ঢাকা শহর*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৪।

৪৪. আখড়ায় যারা কুস্তি লড়তেন বা কুস্তি শিখতেন তাদের বলা হতো ডনগীর। এদের অধিকাংশই ছিলেন মুসলমান। ইংরেজ এবং হিন্দু এলিটরা এদের মনে করতেন উদ্ধত। দেখুন মুনতাসীর মামুন, *হৃদয়নাথেব ঢাকা শহর*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৪, পৃ. ৬৫-৬৬।

৪৫. উনিশ শতকে ঢাকার অধিকাংশ ঘরবাড়ি ছিল খড়ের বা সামান্য উপাদানে তৈরি। বিভিন্ন জায়গা থেকে নলগোলা ও আরো কয়েকটি অঞ্চলে এ ধরনের গৃহনির্মাণ উপদান বিক্রি করা হতো, যেগুলি পরিচিত ছিল ঘরকাচি মহল নামে। মাঝে মাঝে বাজারে চাহিদা বৃদ্ধির জন্য ঘরবাড়ি বা পাড়ায় গোপনে আগুন লাগিয়ে দেযা হতো।

৪৬. ১৮৫১ সালের ২৯ অক্টোবর বাংলার জমিদাররা গঠন করেন ব্রিটিশ ইন্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েশন। শোভাবাজারের রাজা রাধাকান্ত দেব ছিলেন এর প্রথম সভাপতি এবং দেবেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর প্রথম সম্পাদক। বৃটিশ ভারতীয় প্রশাসনের উন্নয়ন, রায়তের বিরুদ্ধে জমিদারের স্বার্থ দেখাই ছিল এর মূল উদ্দেশ্য। দেখুন, B.B. Majumdar, *Indian Political Association and Reform of Legislature*, Calcutta, 1965.

৪৭. ঢাকা পৌরসভা সরকারি ভাবে স্থাপিত হয়েছিলো ১৮৬৪ সালে। তার পূর্ব পর্যন্ত বিভিন্ন সময় বিভিন্ন কমিটি পৌর কাজকর্মের দেখা শোনা করতো। এ ধরনের প্রথম কমিটি গঠিত হয়েছিলো ১৮১৩ সালে। ১৮৪০ সালে গঠিত হয়েছিলো ঢাকা কমিটি যা কাজ করেছে ১৮৬৫ পর্যন্ত। এ কমিটি মিউনিসিপাল কমিটি হিসেবে উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে। দেখুন, শরীফ উদ্দিন আহমদের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ* এবং মুনতাসীর মামুন, *ঢাকা : স্মৃতি বিস্মৃতির নগরী*, ঢাকা ১৯৯৩, পৃ. ১১৭-১২২।

নির্ঘণ্ট

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